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ABSTRACT

This report presents findings from ethnographic research that focused on factors which promote and impede educational opportunity for Punjabi Sikh immigrants in "Valleyside," an agricultural town in California. The report is divided into two parts. Part one considers the setting and the sociocultural context for schooling in "Valleyside." Drawing from interviews with Punjabi and non-immigrant residents, parents' views of life in America, job opportunities, family structure, social relations, and child rearing are described. Background on Punjabis in India is provided. Their reasons for immigrating to the United States, their theory of success, and their life strategies are explored. In addition, social relations between Punjabis and members of the mainstream majority are discussed. This section closes with a comparative analysis of child rearing, emphasizing those patterns most directly related to school performance at the secondary level. The second half of the report focuses on schooling itself by examining social, structural, and cultural factors which influence educational opportunity, home-school relations, and school response patterns. The ways in which the high school curriculum structure and various academic "tracks" create barriers to educational opportunity are explored. Social relations among students are also discussed. The study demonstrates that immigrant minorities may do well in school even when cast as subordinate by a dominant group and that cultural differences do not necessarily inhibit educational achievement. Specifically, findings indicate the importance of high self-esteem, self-reliance, and parental support. All of these aspects of Punjabi culture strongly contribute to success. (GC)

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A STUDY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

FOR PUNJABI YOUTH

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SOUTH ASIAN AMERICAN EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

UD 023 154

HOME-SCHOOL-COMMUNITY LINKAGES:
A STUDY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY
FOR PUNJABI YOUTH

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PROJECT ABSTRACT

HOME-SCHOOL-COMMUNITY LINKAGES:

A STUDY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY FOR PUNJABI YOUTH

by

Margaret A. Gibson

This case study of educational opportunity, a collaborative ethnography, examines the interrelation among social, cultural, and structural factors which influence school performance. It focuses on an immigrant group at the high school level, Punjabi Sikhs, and treats both poor school performance and success. The research site is a large, agricultural town in California.

The research utilizes interviews, questionnaires, and direct observation of Punjabi and mainstream students, their parents, teachers, and administrators. Quantitative measures of success are drawn from school records. The research compares Punjabi and mainstream, males and females, new immigrants and second generation. It examines the cultural processes of prejudice and Americanization. Tracking and ESL are also treated.

The study describes a case of educational and economic success by Asian Americans. The success of the Punjabis is all the more remarkable considering the context of their achievements. The study shows how analysis of Asian immigrants can contribute to understanding of factors affecting opportunity. Immigrant minorities may do well in school, even when cast as subordinate by a dominant group. Greater barriers to equal educational opportunity were found to arise out of the structure of school programs and the prejudiced nature of majority-minority social relations than from home-school cultural differences.

Findings indicate the importance of high self-esteem and parental support for education, whatever the student's background. Self-reliance is also significant, although Punjabi and mainstream definitions differ. This case suggests that while home-school discontinuity can lead to performance dysfunction in the classroom, cultural differences do not necessarily inhibit educational achievement. Aspects of Punjabi culture contribute strongly to success.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Punjabi Education Project, from its inception, has been a cooperative undertaking involving students, parents, community members, educational practitioners, and researchers. At the local level Project participants were most concerned about the improvement of education in Valleyside and the insight which research findings might provide. Toward this end the school district opened its doors to a team of outside researchers, not only permitting scrutiny within the schools for the duration of the Project, but providing guidance and assistance to the Project every step along the way. Without the support of the District Superintendent, the High School Principal, and many other administrators and teachers, we would neither have known the questions to ask nor had the ability to answer them. Our hope is that the insights gleaned will aid Valleyside educators in their ongoing efforts to strengthen educational programs and improve social relations among the different groups they serve.

The views of students, parents, and educators, both Punjabi and Valleysider, provide the substance of this report. We have endeavored to represent their views accurately and know that what we have learned is the result of their willingness to share so fully their ideas and opinions. In keeping with our commitment to them, they, and all others who have participated in the Project, shall remain anonymous.

The Project was administered by the South Asian American Education Association, a non-profit community organization dedicated to the goals of improving educational opportunities for South Asian American youngsters and promoting understanding and appreciation of the cultural heritage of the South Asian American people among Americans

in general. We are indebted to the Board of Directors of the Association for their support. Special thanks goes to Major Gurcharn S. Sandhu for his staunch backing of the research and his own tireless contribution to the Project's administration.

As principal investigator I wish to express my gratitude to the research team and to all those who helped carry out the work of the Project. My colleague and co-investigator Amarjit Bal sparked my initial interest in Punjabi Americans and throughout the past three years has greatly contributed to my understanding of Sikhs, Sikhism, and the Punjab. A separate, complementary report presents his analysis and findings. Gurdip Dhillon and Beth McIntosh, research assistants, who many times must have wondered if the fieldwork phase would ever end, were always willing to contribute to the Project in ways that far exceeded their job descriptions. Ms. McIntosh conducted with great skill and dedication a large share of all Valleysider parent and student interviews, as well as performing myriad other essential tasks. Ms. Dhillon ran our field office, managing ever cheerfully to keep track of seemingly endless sets of details, and translated and transcribed all the Punjabi language interviews, an enormous undertaking which she performed with great competence and good humor.

Our thanks go also to Amarjit Aujla, Davinder Deol, Dorothy Roberts, and Rajinder Singh for assistance in conducting parent interviews; to Vee Carney for transcription of interviews; Tony Wruck for computer assistance; Dorothea Theodoratus for administrative guidance; the staff of the Cross Cultural Resource Center for assistance with xeroxing; and Jack Cornelius for serving so competently as the Project's accountant.

A draft copy of this report has been reviewed, chapter by chapter, by Neelam Agarwal, Martha Bunce, Darleen Dhillon, Hari Singh Everest, Andros Karperos, Bruce La Brack, John Ogbu, Bidya Pradhan, Baldev Singh, Jane Singh, and George Zerkovich. I am deeply grateful to each of them for their thoughtful and careful reading of the report. Their suggestions have guided my revisions. John Ogbu and Bruce La Brack have also contributed directly to the Project's accomplishments by encouraging me to build upon their own research on minority education and on Sikh culture and history.

I gratefully acknowledge the support of the National Institute of Education's Program on Home, Community, and Work, which funded the Punjabi Education Project for its first two years and encouraged its progress during that period. We appreciate NIE's backing for research on home-school-community linkages, and their encouragment for increasing knowledge of the sociocultural context of teaching and learning.

My own role in the Project would not have been possible had my family not shared my commitment to its successful completion. John and Nicholas Marshall, Oberlin College undergraduates, assisted with the coding of data, demonstrating their energy and patience on tasks which at times must have seemed both endless and thankless. Alison, age two and a half, kept me company on my daily drives to Valleyside for the first year of her life and made friends wherever we went. From project inception to project completion my husband, Lynn Marshall, has stimulated and guided my interest in the research; his many contributions are reflected throughout this report.

May 16, 1983 M. A. G.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

A. Overview

Throughout its history the United States has opened its doors to those who wished to settle here. Its appeal as a land of freedom and opportunity continues unabated. Millions stand ready to come, constrained only by the need for entrance visas. Federal policy controls both the number and the categories of arrivals. In spite of the restrictions, there is a growing sense that immigration has gotten out of hand. Can we afford to receive more than half a million legal immigrants, plus thousands more refugees, each year? Is it in the national interest? What pressures do the newest arrivals place on the communities which receive them? Are these balanced by the contributions of the newcomers to the nation's economic and general well-being?1/

This report presents findings from three years of research in a community which, like many American communities in recent years, has experienced a rapid influx of immigrants into its midst. Set in Valleyside,2/ a small agricultural town in California's Central Valley, the study focuses attention on the the factors which promote and impede educational opportunity for one group of Asian immigrants. Since 1965 the number of Asian Indians living in and around Valleyside has increased tenfold. Most are Punjabi Sikhs from the northwest of

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1. The U.S. Senate's report on "Immigration Reform and Control" provides extensive analysis of the existing law, the current problems, and the need for changes (U.S. Senate Report No. 97-485, June 30, 1982).

2. Valleyside is a pseudonym.

India; a few are Hindus and Moslems, also largely Punjabis.3/ According to local estimates, more than 6,000 Punjabis now live in the county, most of them concentrated within the area served by the Valleyside Unified School District.

The research plan was initially conceived to assist the Valleyside Unified School District in better serving the needs of Punjabi youngsters. During the Project's initial stages school district and community representatives alike noted serious problems which merited the attention of researchers, problems which appeared to be both academic and social. Concerns were strongly expressed:

> There has been some really nasty backlash against the Punjabis in recent months, nasty poems circulating about them, people refusing to sit next to them....We have a problem and we need guidance. [school administrator]
>
> The schools have been trying to ignore and bury the problems, but they can't do that any more. [Punjabi parent]
>
> There is deep prejudice against the "Hindus." People don't want to do business with them. [Valleyside businessman]
>
> The Punjabi students, particularly the girls, are in a real bind. They're caught between two cultures. [educator]
>
> The culture we come with is less the issue than if schools are giving the students the skills they need. [Punjabi parent]

Beyond the testimony regarding social and cutural problems, school records indicated that more than half of all Punjabi students were classified as limited-English-speakers. Achievement data revealed, moreover, that over two-thirds of the Punjabi students, grades 8-10, failed the State mandated proficiency test administered by the school district in the fall of 1978. The Punjabi Education Project was launched in 1980 to examine the interrelation among social, cultural, and structural factors which influence educational opportunities for Punjabi youth. Throughout the research process, from initial plan to final report presentation, we have endeavored to maximize the utility of findings and analysis to the host community and school system.

The significance of the study reaches beyond the host community because of the opportunity it affords for analysis of programmatic and policy issues related to improving educational opportunities for

---

3. At the time of India's independence from Great Britain in 1947 the Punjab Province was split in two, part falling in India, part in Pakistan. Moslem Punjabis were forced to move to Pakistan, Hindu and Sikh Punjabis to India.

minority youth. Most comparable case studies of minority education have focused on non-immigrants, usually during the elementary grades. This study focuses instead on an immigrant group and on education at the high school level. Other studies, furthermore, have centered attention on factors which help explain the poor school performance of many minority youngsters; we have given equal attention to factors contributing to success in school.

Related research suggests that children of immigrants often do well in school and that the problems they face are largely temporary (Gibson 1976, in press; Ogbu 1978, 1983). Asian groups in particular are thought to do well, by some criteria better even than their white American counterparts. Japanese American students have been labelled "culturally advantaged" (Schwartz 1971), a sharp contrast to the popular description of some minority ethnic groups as "culturally disadvantaged."

References to the success of Asian Americans appear frequently in the news. Citing preliminary findings from the 1980 census, Sacramento Bee (1982) reported that more Asian Americans (by percentage) reached "the high school education level" than any other group and that they had a higher familiy income than the national median. The fact that students of Asian origin are overrepresented in proportion to their percentage of the population at some of California's most prestigious universities was also reported by the Bee (Sacramento Bee 1981). Some Asian American researchers take issue with the popular image of their success, arguing that the findings, as reported, only examine part of the data (Chun 1980) and fail to take into account the social context of Asian American success. Our case study permits careful examination of both achievement data and their context for one group of Asian Americans.

What we have found is that Punjabi students are far more successful in school than preliminary school data suggested. Almost all Punjabi youth graduate from high school, for example, regardless of how recently they have arrived in the United States. Most receive good grades. Lack of fluency in English, however, proves a major handicap for students who enter American schools in fifth grade or later, and even for some who arrive during the early primary grades. Limited-English-speaking students, by and large, never are able to take college preparatory courses during their high school years. Punjabi children raised and educated from first grade in Valleyside present a different picture. Many do quite well academically, as well in fact as their mainstream counterparts, or, in the case of boys, even better.

Punjabis youngsters are successful in school, by and large, in spite of sharing group characteristics which many researchers have found to correlate with school failure--parents with low income, low status jobs, little formal education, little or no proficiency in English, and a cultural tradition regarded as "backward" and un-American by some in the larger society. Not all Punjabis in Valley-

side fit this description, but enough do that their success strategies merit serious analysis.

Formal education, from the Punjabi parents' perspective, is a key to their children's future opportunities in America. In accordance with this belief, parents expect their children to be good students, to apply themselves to their studies, to avoid trouble, and, generally, to do whatever is requested of them by their teachers. This strong parental support for education involves very little actual contact between the home and the school. Punjabi parents themselves rarely become involved in school affairs, unless some problem relating to their child's behavior demands attention.

The comparative success of Punjabi youngsters in school is all the more remarkable given the difficulties which they face, both social and academic. Some are problems faced by any group that has to adapt to a new language and a new way of life. While temporary in nature, the problems are nonetheless real and raise numerous educational issues. For example, what can and should the schools do to facilitate the transition and help the newcomers become fully competitive academically? Other problems arise out of the adaptation process itself. Students, for example, must accept standards for behavior at school which are quite different from those which govern their behavior at home. They may even acquire values at school which are in conflict with those of their parents. Knowing that such conflicts may arise out of the eductional process, what approach should the schools take either to avoid or to deal with them? A third type of problem arises out of the dominant group's beliefs about Americanization and American culture. What is the national culture? How is it represented by the schools? What is the appropriate role of the school in helping newcomers adapt to life in America? While our analysis of these and related issues focuses on a relatively small California community and a largely unknown group of South Asian immigrants, the issues which we discuss touch most communities and school districts across the nation.

The goals of the present study include both contribution to the social science knowledge base and the improvement of educational practice. The specific research objectives are as follows:

1. To identify factors which impede, and those which facilitate success in school for Punjabi youth;

2. To identify factors which will contribute to building better relations between minority and mainstream;

3. To contribute to the knowledge base on the process of immigrant adaptation and acculturation, and their influence on school performance; and

4. To contribute to the knowledge base about Punjabi Sikhs in America.

These goals are approached by means of a comparative study, investigating both minority and majority. It considers the point of view of the mainstream community and the problems which the Punjabi influx has caused, as well as investigating, from the Punjabi perspective, their relations with the larger society. Research objectives are approached also by means of intra-ethnic comparison, as in comparing differences in sex, age, and time in the United States.

Many different factors work together to influence educational performance. Within the school itself, we must look at both the formal and informal dynamics of the teaching-learning process. To understand educational opportunity we must also explore the larger community context and the interrelation between school, home, community, and workplace. We must be concerned with the perceived relationships between formal education and adult roles, including jobs. We must examine the relationship between parental involvement in education and students' success in school. This study touches on all these areas.

B. Analytic Framework

Much has been written in recent years on how schools can best serve the needs of all their students. Special concern has centered on the low academic achievement of many minority students. Although we are here much concerned with failure, when it occurs, we are equally interested in documenting and explaining patterns of school success.

In this report we draw upon two distinct theoretical perspectives often used to explain the school performance of minority youth. The first assumes that educational problems arise because of a mismatch between the culture of the school and that of the students. The schools, unintentionally for the most part, fail to build on the knowledge and skills which minority youth bring with them from home. The second view emphasizes the structural relationship between groups and assumes that low achievement is a consequence of the American system of social stratification. The current eductional system, say proponents of this latter perspective, serves to perpetuate the status quo, thus maintaining the vested interest of those with power and privlege.

The first framework assumes that meaningful change can come from within the system. Through reduction of cultural discontinuity and other barriers to success in school, minority students will be more able to benefit from their education. The most able, regardless of ethnic or class background, can then be rewarded on merit. By contrast, those who relate educational inequity to the structure of the society at large feel meaningful reform will only occur when it is demanded by the polity (Paulston 1976). In spite of their conflicting premises with respect to social and educational change, we find both perspectives of value in the present analysis. Each, we feel, helps

to describe the school experiences of Punjabi youth in Valleyside. Neither, however, can explain their comparative success. To do that we must not only examine cultural differences and structural relationships which create barriers to learning, we must also examine the actual strategies which Punjabis employ in pursuit of educational and economic opportunity.

Cultural Differences Explanation

Anthropological research on schooling has shown how student achievement is directly affected by the relationship betwen home and school culture. Research findings indicate that where there is congruence and compatability between the two the probability for success in school is enhanced. On the other hand, where there is discontinuity and incompatibility between cultural systems, misunderstanding and tension between students, their families, and school personnel may be anticipated, accompanied in many instances by performance dysfunction and interpersonal conflict (Gibson 1982).

Not all individuals or groups are equally affected by cultural differences and it is necessary, therefore, to explore the nature of the cultural differences which impede success in school (Ogbu 1982a). Many minority youth do well in school, even when their home culture provides sharp contrast to that represented in school programs. This is true in the Punjabi case. Cultural differences do not lead, necessarily, to poor school performance, but they do pose a barrier to success until students learn to handle the different and sometimes conflicting demands of home and school.

The cultural differences framework helps us understand the role of culture in the teaching-learning process and can reveal points of miscommunication which merit educators' attention. Several examples will illustrate this utility. Children raised within the majority culture in America are taught to look directly at an adult when being reprimanded. To look away is considered both disrespectful and admission of guilt. Conversely, Puerto Rican children are taught by their parents "to look 'respectfully' down when being chastised" (Byers and Byers 1972:20). When teachers and students come from different cultural backgrounds, misunderstandings of this sort frequently occur. What is polite for one group may be rude for another. Unwittingly, teacher and student misinterpret one another's behavior and the learning transaction is jeopardized. Similar problems arise in the present case. Most Punjabis have been raised to avoid eye contact with most members of the opposite sex. In Valleyside's coeducational classrooms Punjabi girls may, as a sign of respect, avert their gaze when addressed by a male teacher or classmate. Those unfamiliar with Punjabi culture may erroneously conclude that Punjabi girls are shy or standoffish.

Research on Native American students has revealed close ties between poor school performance and cultural miscommunication. Oglala Sioux children, who are "noisy, bold, daring and insatiably curious" outside of the classroom, are totally unresponsive in the classroom when teachers seek individual responses to their questions (Dumont 1972:345). The children successfully resist teachers' efforts to have them respond on command. The structure of a teacher-controlled exchange is foreign and uncomfortable to Sioux children. Philips' (1972) research on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation reveals similar problems in classrooms where there is a mismatch between "rules" which guide the use of speech. In situations where the teacher controls the interaction and student response is mandatory, Indian children fare poorly, Philips found. By contrast, Indian students do well when the learning environment allows them to initiate the learning exchange or to work in small groups which they themselves control. In direct contrast with the Native American examples, Punjabi youth learn at an early age to defer to adult authority. They are uncomfortable, therefore, in classroom settings which encourage students to brainstorm or to suggest ideas which differ from those presented by the teacher.

In Hawaii anthropologists and educators concerned about the poor school performance of children of Hawaiian-Polynesian ancestory have taken research of this sort one step further. Building upon years of research on Hawaiian culture, they have deliberately created a classroom structure which encourages children to work independently as much as 80 percent of the time. These and other changes have brought about marked improvement in the performance of native Hawaiian children from low income families who ordinarily fare poorly in school. The researchers assume a causal relationship between school achievement and the opportunity for young children to build upon the skills they bring with them from home (Jordan and Tharp 1979; Tharp, et al 1979). While such a restructuring of learning is neither possible nor desirable in Valleyside's heterogeneous classes, awareness of the impact of different learning structures can prove useful to local educators. Valleyside high school teachers have found, for example, that they can use Punjabi peer networks as an effective aid to new arrivals from India who know little English and, therefore, are handicapped in understanding the lesson; teachers also have found that they can use parental pressure equally effectively to solve discipline problems involving Punjabi youngsters.

The Punjabi cultural system, like that of the Hawaiian, Native American, and Puerto Rican groups, differs in certain basic ways from that of the American mainstream. Unlike these other groups, however, Punjabis are recent immigrants who have chosen voluntarily to immigrate to the United States. The Hawaiians, Puerto Ricans, and Native Americans, on the other hand, were forced against their will to become part of this country. The Punjabi case thus offers the chance to examine the value of the cultural differences explanation of school performance when it is applied to a self-selected immigrant group.

On the whole, far from handicapping youngsters in school, the Punjabi cultural system includes numerous traits that facilitate successful academic performance and enable students to overcome barriers to their progress. The Punjabi family structure, for example, which places great value on cooperation and respect for elders, together with the Punjabi belief that hardship can be overcome through hard work and forbearance, aid students in their school work and interpersonal relations. Students newly arrived from village India may have difficulty in clases which assume familiarity with our mechanized society or style of easy give and take between the sexes, but these sorts of problems diminish as students adapt to their new surroundings.

The more lasting barriers to school success involve the response of the dominant group to cultural differences, rather than the differences themselves. The prejudice of mainstream students proves to be a greater obstacle to Punjabis speaking up in class and participating in extracurricular activities than their cultural background. Still, it is the new arrivals who are the most affected by prejudice. Punjabis raised in Valleyside have adapted to their surroundings in ways that make them far less subject to acts of overt hostility and, if need be, they are also quite able to defend themselves verbally in English.

Social Stratification Explanation

The second framework emphasizes structural, rather than cultural, relationships between groups as explanation for school performance patterns. Researchers employing a social stratification framework show how members of the dominant group in a society, in order to preserve their advantages, erect barriers to the social and economic advancement of subordinate groups. Academic and social problems are thought to exist not because of cultural discontinuities between home and school, but rather because members of the dominant group, seeking to preserve the status quo, worry that any minority gains will be at their expense. Prejudice and discrimination create barriers to the minority group's pursuit of equal opportunity, in school, or jobs, or social standing.

Much of the literature on the failure of educational reform to remedy inequities between groups in this and other societies relates to the nature of the economic, political, and social systems of these societies. The sources of inequality in educational attainment, many researchers argue, lie outside the system of schooling itself. Only when equal access exists to jobs at every level can equity for all groups be achieved.4/

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4. See, for example, Bowles and Gintis 1976; Carnoy and Levin 1976; Collins 1979; Jencks 1972.

Ogbu has written extensivly about the effects of inequality on the educational performance of minority students, blacks in particular (1974, 1978, 1979, 1982). His work has centered on "subordinate" and "castelike" minorities who continue generation after generation to occupy low positions in society.5/ Our focus on an "immigrant" minority group (Ogbu 1978)6/ provides opportunity to examine the utility of the social stratification explanation of school performance when it is applied to a group of voluntary immigrants. The Punjabis of Valleyside are not a castelike minority in Ogbu's sense, but they nevertheless are limited in their power to control the major institutions of society, including schooling, or the values espoused by these institutions. In this sense, then, Punjabis are a subordinate minority group.7/

The present case study considers minority-majority relations, both within the school setting and within the larger community context, to understand their impact on schooling and on the immigrant group's success strategies. Punjabis, we find, are looked down upon by members of the dominant group and experience discrimination in hiring. They also face a constant pressure to conform to a mainstream American life style. All of these pressures serve to impede educational progress for Punjabi youngsters and to reinforce their subordinate status.

Another type of barrier to school success which serves to perpetuate the subordinate status of certain groups relates to the instructional program itself. Precedures for placement, testing, and grouping students, for example, can restrict the progress of some students, while promoting opportunities for others. Special programs,

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5. The dominant group, Ogbu writes, usually regards caste minorities as "inherently inferior" in all respects. "In general, caste minorities are not allowed to compete for the most desirable roles on the basis of their individual training and abilities. The least desirable roles they are forced to play are generally used to demonstrate that they are naturally suited for their low position in society. Thus, their political subordination is reinforced by economic subordination" (Ogbu 1978:23). Examples of caste minorities in this country are American Indians, Eskimos, Native Hawaiians, Puerto Ricans, and blacks. Others have labelled these groups "conquered" and "involuntary" minorities because it was not by free will that they became a part of the United States.

6. In addition to Asian Indians, examples of voluntary immigrant groups in the United States are Cubans, West Indians, Japanese, and Chinese.

7. We follow here Schermerhorn's (1970) usage of the terms subordinate, dominant, minority, and majority.

such as English langauge instruction for immigrants, intended to help students become fully competitive with mainstream classmates, can instead channel students away from regular academic classes. While these students may receive their high school diplomas, they graduate without equal preparation and cannot, therefore, be expected to be competitive in their search for jobs. This study, in addition to looking at cultural and social factors which affect school performance patterns, also examines ways in which the structure of school programs promotes and inhibits success in school.

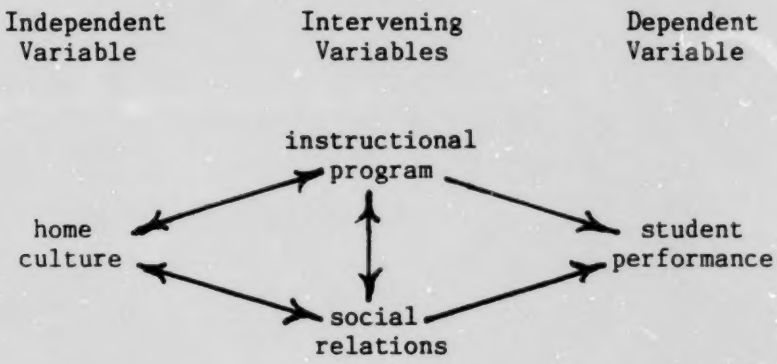
Success Theory Explanation

Success, or failure, in school can be defined by a number of objective measures such as standardized test scores, grade point average, and graduation from 12th grade. Equally important are the perceptions of students, parents, and teachers regarding success. How do they define a successful school experience? What is the relationship in their minds of school success and preparation for the adult roles which young people will assume? From their perspectives which students are succeeding and which are not?

A group's theory of success influences the school response patterns of youth from that group. Parents' expectations of the adult roles which they realistically expect their children to fulfill shape the competencies they encourage their children to acquire (Ogbu 1974, 1979). Since different groups have different expectations with regard to adult roles, it follows that the competencies needed will differ, as will the strategies for achieving these competencies.

The cultures which students bring with them to school, including their theories of success, influence their response to social and structural variables, and at the same time are shaped by them. All three bear on student performance in school. Diagram 1 provides a model of school performance which flows from the interrelationships among these variables. Home culture includes the folk theories of success which young people acquire from their parents. The instructional program includes the curriculum, placement, testing, counseling, and the quality of instruction. Social relations includes friendships networks and peer reference groups, as well as ethnic relations. Additional variables intervene, most especially the individual student's ability, but our focus here is the interrelation among cultural, social, and structural factors and their influence on educational outcomes.

Diagram 1. School Performance Model



This model of school performance, which also reflects our interest in linkages between the home, the school, and the community, provides the framework for our analysis of educational opportunity in Valleyside. The study centers around the social and cultural context of education, more than the teaching-learning process itself. This interest is reflected in the research design.

C. Design and Procedure

The research draws directly from the discipline of anthropology for both its perspective and its approach and builds upon previous case studies in educational anthropology which share our concern for the larger societal context of education.8/ Major characteristics of an anthropological approach are a focus on cultural patterns, a concern for comparativeness, holism (the entire context), and the use of ethnographic research techniques.

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8. See, for example, Hostettler and Huntington 1971; Ogbu 1974; Singleton 1967; Spindler 1973; Warren 1967; Wolcott 1967; Wylie 1957. While each of these studies is concerned with formal education, the researchers look to the larger community for the context necessary to understand the process of education.

Educational Ethnography

Ethnography is "an anthropologist's 'picture' of the way of life of some interacting human group; or viewed as process, ethnography is the science of cultural description" (Wolcott 1976:23). To describe reality from the perspective of the "natives" or "local people" is central to ethnography. The aim is not only to see the world as they see it, but to feel it as they feel it. In so doing the researchers can offset the influence of their own cultural biases and assumptions, which otherwise would guide what to look at and how to interpret it. In our case, since the "natives" are students, parents, and educators, both Punjabis and "Valleysiders,"9/ we have approached the study in a manner which allows all perspectives to be represented.

To investigate the community context of education in Valleyside we carried out fieldwork at both the school and community levels. School research included the gathering of academic data, interviews with students, parents, and school personnel, and observation at the local high school. Community research centered around the collection of data on the social, cultural, religious, linguistic, economic, and educational characteristics of the population served by the Valleyside Unified School District. The value of placing formal education within the larger sociocultural context is noted by Hansen (1979) in her discussion of "ecological analysis" and by Ogbu (1981) in his discussion of an "ecological perspective on educational ethnography.

Throughout the research we have sought to bring a fuller understanding of the educational process by constant attention to a comparative perspective. Much of the research on minority education has focused largely on the minority group. Its status within a given society as a minority, however, depends on its relationship to the majority, or dominant, group. In the present case, therefore, we have studied the majority culture and the majority group's view of Punjabi culture. By investigating both groups we are able to learn how each sees its own cultural system and that of the other group. Attention to Valleysider perspectives sheds light, also, on the impact of Punjabi immigration on the larger community. Insight into the nature of the frictions between ethnic groups emerges from conflicting conceptions of the "melting pot" and of "Americanization."

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9. In reality all who live in Valleyside, both minority and majority group members, are Valleysiders. For lack of another term acceptable to all parties, however, we reserve the term "Valleysider" for white Americans living in Valleyside. At times we shall also use the terms "mainstream" and "majority" to refer to this same group.

The comparative method forces one to scrutinize his or her own cultural system while seeking to explain another. In the present case, not only did we as researchers look at both systems, but we urged our Punjabi and Valleysider "informants"10/ to do the same. In addition to asking them to share with us their perspectives on educational opportunity in Valleyside, we also encouraged them to compare their way of life with that of the other group and to analyze relations between the groups.

In carrying out research on educational opportunities we must not lose sight of students as individuals. It is a premise of this study, however, that any effort to understand the individual student is increased by knowledge of his or her cultural background. The comparative study of minority and majority is important, too, because it sheds light on the similarities between groups and the range and variation within them. We must seek to understand, for example, variations related to sex, age, and time in the United States. Also relevant to the present analysis are differences associated with educational, economic, and professional status. Through comparison we can also bring to focus the important similarities between groups. How similar, for example, are students' views of formal eduction, regardless of their ethnic affiliation? Or parents? Or teachers?

Cooperative Research

The case study has been very much of a cooperative effort. Indeed, an underlying assumption of the research was that its validity and value would be enhanced through the involvement of school and community people. The nature of the participation by local people varied according to each individual's area of expertise and resources. Students, parents, and teachers contributed their insights through interviews, both formal and informal, and questionnaires. Some people were interviewed on several occasions and by several different researchers. Others were interviewed only once.

Visits with both Punjabi and Valleysider parents early in the fieldwork enabled us to benefit from their perspectives' before finalizing our interview schedules. Community representatives and local educators shared concerns and insights in the development of the research design itself and at various points during the fieldwork, analysis, and report-writing stages of the project. School officials facilitated the collection of data and guided the research in ways that kept it relevant to local needs while also enabling it to address issues of larger concern. The research grant itself was administered

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10. "Informant" is the traditional anthropological term for anyone who shares information with fieldworkers, i.e., one who informs and provides insights into local culture.

by a South Asian American community organization; this, too, heightened local interest in and commitment to the project.

The collaborative and comparative nature of the project is also reflected in the research team. The basic team included two investigators, both in their forties: one a male, Punjabi Sikh, immigrant to the United States from India, and the other an American by birth, female, Christian, of Anglo Saxon descent; and two research assistants, both female, college graduates in their twenties: one a Punjabi Sikh immigrant from England, and the other an American of Scottish descent, native of Massachusetts. One of the investigators is an educational anthropologist with expertise in multi-ethnic education; the other is a comparative educator with experience both as a high school teacher and in working with delinquent youth. Both of the investigators live within commuting distance of Valleyside. One of the research assistants is a permanent resident of Valleyside and the other lived there during the fieldwork. The Punjabi team members are fluent in both Punjabi and English. The team approach contributed balance to our perspectives and encouraged us time and again to examine our assumptions.

Data Gathering

Educational opportunity and success in school can be described, measured, and interpreted in a variety of ways. Our approach was to collect a combination of quantitative and qualitative data in order to present a comprehensive picture of school performance and to set it within the broad sociocultural context. We have concentrated our attention on the high school level for several reasons. First, we were interested in having as broad a cross section of the community together in one setting as was possible. Valleyside High draws students from all schools in the district and is truly a microcosm of the entire community. Except for two small continuation high schools, it is the only high school within the limits of the unified school district. Second, we wanted to interview students who had some specific plans for what they planned to do upon leaving high school. Thirdly, we felt that the teenage years would highlight cultural, social, and structural factors impinging upon school success.

We collected performance data for a broad sample of students in grades nine through twelve, including:

- student enrollment, by ethnic identity, in all courses offered during one semester at the high school;
- standardized test scores;
- courses taken over a four-year period;
- grades received;

. years living in the United States;

. years attending Valleyside schools;

. English language proficiency; and

. free lunch eligibility.

These data were collected for all Punjabi high school students (N=231), all Mexican American students (N=217), and a random sample, stratified by sex and grade, of all other students (N=1679, sample=192).

In addition to these quantitative data, we gathered extensive data of a qualitative nature for samples of Punjabi and Valleysider students. The Punjabi sample included all students listed in school records as entering twelfth graders in September 1980 (N=44, 19 males and 25 females). Since few Punjabi students drop out of school before their senior year, we felt such a sample would be representative of the larger Punjabi community. Also, such an approach was easily explained to the students and their families. Every family agreed to participate, although in several cases we were unable to interview both student and parents.

In selecting the Valleysider sample our primary concern, once again, was that it be representative of the larger community, with one major limitation. Resources did not permit in-depth comparative study of the other minority groups resident in Valleyside. We, therefore, selected a random sample, stratified by sex, of all non-Asian, non-Mexican American students listed by the school district as incoming seniors in September 1980. We included in the sample students who attended the two continuation high schools, as well as those enrolled at Valleyside High (sample=42, 23 males and 19 females, excluding 3 families who declined our invitation to participate).

To collect comprehensive ethnographic data at the community level for either the Punjabi population or the white American mainstream was beyond the scope of the study, but members of the research team were able to participate in and observe community and school affairs over a two year period, May 1980 through March 1982. In addition, we used questionnaires to collect information from students and teachers and structured interview schedules to collect comparative information from all seniors in our samples and their parents. We also carried out interviews with more than 75 educators, including 15 Punjabi educators. Quite a few teachers and administrators were interviewed on several occasions throughout the study. An Appendix to this report, bound separately, includes copies of all data gathering instruments.

Most interviews with students and parents were tape recorded and later transcribed verbatim, or, in the case of interviews conducted in the Punjabi language, translated and transcribed. Notes were kept of

interviews not tape recorded. To protect the confidentiality of all informants, everyone who collaborated in the research was given a code number and no names were used on typed transcripts. All tapes, field notes, and transcripts were kept in locked file cabinets and shared with no one apart from the four members of the research team proper. Further, we use no names in this report and, where necessary, we have refrained from using information which was "off the record" or which might reflect negatively on any individual. Draft copies of the report have been reviewed locally to help guard against unintended repercussions from its dissemination.

Our data base, in addition to field notes, questionnaires, and interviews, included student themes, newspaper clippings, school documents, and related research reports. Altogether the data base for the project exceeds 5,000 typed pages, plus computerized data on school achievement. Quantitative data were processed in part by hand and in part by machine. All qualitative data were read and coded by the principal investigator and sorted by themes, headings, and sub-headings onto five inch by eight inch cards. Material for each heading was then analyzed and synthesized. The report was drafted by the principal investigator and reviewed, chapter by chapter, by school district officials, other local educators, both Punjabi and Valleysider, and several consultants. The use of a home computer greatly facilitated the process of drafting and redrafting. The computer was also used to help sort materials for inclusion in the report.

D. Ethics of Ethnographic Fieldwork

During the project's formative stages Punjabis and Valleysiders alike asked "Why study us?" and "What will this research do for us?" Studies in the past, a Punjabi community leader observed, have "made no difference. People got their degrees. What did we get?" We were accutely mindful of these concerns and throughout the research process have felt a responsibility to contribute to educational improvement within our host community. Some of the finest research, research which has greatly advanced our theoretical and conceptual understanding of cultural and educational processes, has provided scant benefit to the local communities which hosted the studies. Even projects which are designed to facilitate educational change may include recommendations which never reach those who contributed the most to them. Moreover, when findings and recommendations are shared, they may result in little or no local impact.

Through our research design we have endeavored to maximize the local utility of the research while at the same time framing the discussion to have value to audiences beyond Valleyside. The involvement of community members in all aspects of the research has, we feel, greatly strengthened our insight and understanding. Not only do local people possess knowledge that is at the heart of good ethnography, they also have special insights into the data itself which help with

analysis and synthesis (Hymes 1976). Further, we believe that the involvement of many people has enhanced the chances that the findings will be used locally, especially by those who themselves have contributed to the results.

Community members, both mainstream and minority, agreed that the study should not be limited to the Punjabi minority, although their reasons for so believing were not exactly the same. Mainstream members felt that tax dollars targeted on the minority provide little or no benefit to the larger community. The Punjabis, on the other hand, felt that the minority is always "under the microscope" when the root cause of their educational difficulties lies not with the minority but with the majority. "They have the power and they don't have to change," one local Punjabi farmer observed. He went on to say that what was needed, therefore, were "studies of them by us."

One Punjabi stated his reservations about the potential impact of the research even more bluntly. "Why," he asked,

> do anthropologists care what we eat and how we live? Why does everyone want us to become acculturated? No society can survive on uniformity. Look at fashion. The definition of an American is some imaginary person who can't be defined or described.
>
> You may learn a lot about Punjabi behavior, but how will the knowledge be used, or misused? You study fish to learn how to trap them at spawning time, to know how to set better bait. You may do the study and learn that Punjabis are susceptible to germ A. Then someone may deliberately let lose germ A.
>
> Researchers come and go, but everything will remain the same. What Americans understand is making dollars. They want to maintain the system to serve their own needs. It's always the beggar who has to be willing to change. Might makes right. Punjabis don't have power. They're too busy trying to survive, making dollars to feed the family. Those in control want to remain in control, be on top, and this will continue.
>
> It's very difficult to isolate problems for solution since they are interrelated. It's hard to change people who don't want to change, or who won't benefit from the change. If whites wanted to know about Sikhs, they could learn.

We agree that too few studies designed to improve educational opportunities for minority youth have examined "the dominant culture which is supposed to be in conflict with the minority student's culture," or attended to minority-majority power relations (Ogbu 1979:13). We disagree with the assumptions that everything will inevitably remain the same, study or no study, and that those "in control" wish simply to preserve the status quo. Throughout the research process we have found district personnel concerned with ways

to improve educational opportunities for Punjabi youth and open to suggestions for change. Our comparative approach has yielded insight, we believe, which can strengthen educational programs and improve social relations for majority and minority alike.

We are mindful that researchers run the risk of offering premature suggestions on how to overcome some problem or another, recommending change without adequate understanding of the situation. We are mindful, too, that "interpreting the world of the classroom does not suffice to change it" (Hymes 1972:xviii). Accordingly, we see this report as only one step toward the improvement of educational opportunity. Responsibility for how the findings are used rests ultimately with the local community.

E. Organization of the Report

The report is divided into two parts. The first half looks at the setting and the sociocultural context for schooling in Valleyside. Drawing heavily from our comparative interviews, we describe parents' views of life in America and Valleyside, job opportunities, family structure, social relations, and child rearing. Chapter Two, in addition to describing the Valleyside setting, provides background information on the Punjabis in India and discusses their reasons for immigrating to the United States. In Chapter Three we give special attention to the Punjabis' theory of success and the strategies employed in their pursuit of a better life for themselves and their children. Chapter Four discusses social relations between Punjabis and members of the mainstream majority at the community level. Part I closes with a comparative analysis of child rearing, emphasizing those patterns which relate most directly to school performance at the secondary level.

The second half of the report focuses on schooling itself, looking at social, structural, and cultural factors which influence educational opportunity. Chapter Six presents our quantitative findings on academic performance. The next three chapters present qualitative findings which help us interpret the quantitative data. Chapter Seven examines parents' views of formal education and the relationship between home and school. Our focus is cultural factors which influence school response patterns. Chapter Eight looks at the instructional program at the high school level, giving special attention to the various academic "tracks," to show how the structure of the curriculum inadvertently creates barriers to educational opportunity. Chapter Nine turns to social relations at the high school and among youth, examining ways in which they, too, erect barriers to learning. The report closes with a summary of major findings and some discussion of their implications for both policy and practice.

PART ONE

THE COMMUNITY

CHAPTER TWO

SETTING

Valleyside, located in California's highly productive Central Valley, is the home of the largest settlement of Punjabis living anywhere in the United States. Most Punjabis are recent immigrants to the United States. Their children make up, now, 12 percent of the student population attending schools within the Valleyside Unified School District, and their proportion continues to grow. The rate of increase in recent years exceeds one percent of the total school population per year.1/ Mexican American youngsters, traditionally California's largest minority, also make up a fairly stable 12 percent of the school population. An additional 4 percent are members of other minority groups. The remaining 72 percent are Valleysiders; most are middle class.

This section of the report, and the next, provide an overview of two groups, the Punjabi minority and the Valleysider majority, including their settlement of the area, perspectives on America, employment patterns, and family characteristics. This section also provides background information on the Punjabis in India. The comparison of Punjabis and Valleysiders is presented because of its importance to our analysis of school success patterns for these two groups of students.

The Mexican American population, in spite of their significant numbers in Valleyside, is not included in this discussion. Mexican Americans are an "indigeneous" or "long-term" minority group; only a

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1. By School District report "East Indians," or Punjabis, accounted for 8.4 percent of the student enrollment in 1977-78 and 12.6 percent in 1980-81.

few families now living in Valleyside are recent immigrants to the United States from Mexico. This study focuses rather on an "immigrant" minority group. Most Punjabi families in Valleyside are immigrants. The educational performance of Mexican American youth, moreover, has been analyzed in other studies; the Punjabi group has not. Support for the project, furthermore, was insufficient to permit thorough comparative analysis of the Mexican American as well as the Punjabi and Valleysider groups, although we were able to gather academic performance data for all three groups (see Chapter Six).

Agriculture, which employs an estimated 5,600 persons, is the county's largest source of income. An air force base, located within commuting distance of Valleyside, is the area's second largest employer.2/ Valleyside, the county seat since 1856, grew slowly in its early years, reaching a population of 3,600 by 1908.3/ In 1940 the town still had a population of only 4,968 and the county 18,680, but in the next twenty years the population doubled and by 1980 the county population had surpassed 50,000, with nearly 20,000 resident in the town proper.4/ Most Valleysider families, judging from our sample of Valleysider parents, are not native to the area.

A. Valleysiders

Most residents of the area say Valleyside is a good place to raise children. Among its attributes they cite the favorable climate, the location between ocean and mountains, and the quiet, small-town atmosphere:

> I don't know why anyone would want anymore. [Valleysider parent]

> We have a beautiful college here. A lot of fruit trees....There are a lot of things for these kids to do, opportunities to work in the fields which they wouldn't have in the city, opportunities for fishing, pheasant hunting so that they are not standing around on the street corner. [Valleysider parent]

Those whose families have been in the area for many years feel it is becoming too populated. Those who have moved to Valleyside from larger cities enjoy the town's smallness and note that youth have more chances to become involved competively in such activities as sports or music. The small size also makes it safer, easier to deal with

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2. Chamber of Commerce, 1980.

3. Chamber of Commerce, History, n.d.

4. State Census Data Center, Sacramento, CA.

problems. Children, parents note, have less pressure on them than in larger areas.

On the negative side, many observe that all places today have problems, and that Valleyside is better than most. Drugs are parents' number one concern. There is a definite sense that "drugs flow freely in the area," as the following statements by Valleysider parents indicate.

> I'll tell you, I had a man come to me not long ago who said, "I've been all over the United States and it is easier to get drugs [around here] than any place I have been." He had been in the service for 28 years....Another young serviceman testified just recently at our church. He said, "there are more drugs available [here] than any place. It can cost you your life."

Some parents find Valleyside's drug problem to be comparable to that of large metropolitan areas.

> We lived in southern California and the drug problem down there was very bad. In fact, one of the reasons we moved was because of the drug problem. But then it was just as bad here.

Other Valleysiders recognize that drugs are available, but don't feel they are prevelant.

Some parents also note the lack of "cultural advantages" and the "provincial" nature of the city. On the whole, however, the general assessment of Valleyside as a place to live and to raise children is positive.

Settlement of the Area

A positive attitude about life in Valleyside cuts across all groups, poor and rich, old-timers and newcomers. Today's Valleysiders fall into four groups:

(1) Those whose families arrived in the area by the 1930s. Included in this group are a handful whose ancestors were among California's earliest settlers. "My husband's family," one woman noted, "has been here for years and years and years. His great grandfather was one of the members of the Death Valley Party." Another parent, who described the basic Valleyside standard as "redneck," explained that a small number of families, all of whom had been in the area for several generations, treated newer arrivals as intruders and assumed an air of superiority since their own ancestors had come to California in "covered wagons."

(2) The second major group of families arrived during the 1930s and early 1940s from the Southwest Plains. They came to escape

poverty. Still today, forty years later, some feel the stigma of their "dust-bowl" origins, as the following comments suggest:

> The history of this area not only concerns the Punjabis, but also the "Okies" and the "Arkies." [Researcher: "Can you tell me who these people are?"] Sure--The Grapes of Wrath--the people that came to California during the depression. They were the low ones on the totem pole. And that still carries through, even though some of those people are now some of the most wealthy peple in the area. They're self-made and they still have that inner feeling of lack of self-confidence, or security, and so it carries over right on down the line.

The "stigma," this parent noted, is difficult to overcome. Valleyside, she explained, was where the "rich folks lived." The Oakies lived in the outlying towns. Being an Oakie meant being "on the bottom of the ladder" and still today some Oakies don't want to tell you where they grew up.

One in three Valleysider families has a parent, or grandparent, who came from Oklahoma or Arkansas.5/

(3) Another third of the Valleysiders moved into the area as adults. Most came as the result of a job transfer from another location in California. Many of these sought the opportunity to leave more congested areas of the state.

(4) The fourth Valleysider group includes those who arrived as young children or teenagers from other parts of the state and nation, excluding those from Oklahoma, and Arkansas.

Job Opportunities

Most Valleysiders are satisfied with their present employment and have no plans to change. They note, however, a general lack of opportunity for advancement and a limited range of positions available. Wages, for the most part, are lower than those in metropolitan areas. Young people, parents observe, have more chances for summer employment because of agriculture, but less chance for full-time, permanent employment. Several comments illustrate these views:

> The pay here is really bad. If a guy has a good education, he wouldn't want to work in this county. The same job somewhere else would pay a lot more. [Valleysider parent]

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5. Based on a ramdom sample of Valleysider families whose children were seniors at Valleyside High in 1980-81.

> As a youngster you probably have more [opportunities] here. As you get older, it all depends on what you're looking for. [Valleysider parent]

Several parents noted that jobs are available, but the choices are limited.

Most Valleysiders feel that there is no discrimination in hiring and say that jobs are equally available to all groups. They point out at the same time, however, that it helps to be well connected. "The only way you get a job around here is to know somebody," one woman noted. Another Valleysider, a long-time resident, explained that she had gotten all her jobs by word of mouth, through relatives and other connections. "I've never had to hardly even apply for them," she said.

Valleysiders recognize, furthermore, that a lot of Valleysider employers "just wouldn't hire somebody out of their group." It appears that Valleysiders are speaking in ideal terms when they explain that jobs are equally available to all groups. In reality, people are often hired in Valleyside because they have some social connections with those doing the hiring.

Today's Valleysiders hold a wide variety of jobs, but our random sample did not include even one family who depended directly on farming for a livelihood, although several did work in farm-related occupations. A much larger percentage of Valleyside families were involved in farming a generation ago than is true today. Not only has the overall population grown, creating more job alternatives, but small farmers have sold out to the larger land owners. It has become increasingly difficult to make a decent living from the small family-run farm. An acre of good peach land now costs upwards of $7,000. Walnut and prune acerage can run even higher. In addition to fruit and nuts, rice, tomatoes, and other ground crops are also locally raised.

Within our sample of 42, five fathers worked outside of Valleside, two commuting daily; the other 3 returned weekly, or less frequently. Another 5 were either deceased, or their whereabouts unknown. Of the remaining 32, 3 were self employed (plumber, truck driver) and the others were equally divided between owning their own business, working in public sector positions, and working for a private company. Many had worked in their current occupations for twenty years and had no plans to change before retirement. Two were retired military who had moved to the area when stationed at the nearby air base.

Of the 42 mothers, 37 (including one grandmother) were employed at least part of the year, or had been until their retirement. Two had returned to work recently, following a divorce. Of the 37, 4 worked in the family business, 3 of them as bookkeepers; 7 held full-

time private-sector jobs, 16 held full-time public-sector jobs, and 8 worked part-time, or part of the year. The largest number was employed by health and education agencies. Most had relatively low-paying jobs, but their salaries were an important part of the family income.

Family Characteristics

Valleyside is a comparatively wealthy town. Per capita income for the county is among the highest in the state.6/ The median income for Valleysider families in our sample, all parents of high school seniors, was $30,000, excluding children's earnings. More than a third of the families reported incomes of $35,000 or more. Almost a quarter, however, had incomes of less than $15,000; in 6 of 9 cases these were female-headed households.

A majority of the parents have completed high school, and nearly half have had some college courses. Many have taken advantage of classes offered in the evening at Valleyside College, the local community college. More of the fathers have finished four years of college (23 percent) than the mothers (12 percent).

The average Valleysider household has 4 resident members, although a number of families are much larger than this would indicate. The largest have 7 children, others 4 and 5. Many of the older children are now living away from home, either in college, married, or working. Some remain in the area, but have set up their own households and live apart from their parents. Several of the students in our high school sample no longer lived with their parents, having chosen instead to live on their own.

Quite a few families, especially those who moved to Valleyside a generation or more ago, have a large network of relatives in the area. Others have no kin nearby. Regardless, family is important to most Valleysiders. "We are very family oriented," one parent remarked. "We just had a party last weekend to celebrate my husband's and youngest son's birthdays."

Valleysiders cite the advantages of their present surroundings for promoting family activities and keeping their children out of harm's way:

> My husband and I just never made a life away from our home. We wanted to live in the country so my sons could learn how to drive a tractor, irrigate, have something to do besides run to town.

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6. The median family income for the county is $18,545 (1980 Census, State Census Data Center, State of California).

> If you keep a person busy, they're not going to go out and do the wrong thing. And we've always had a boat. We've always fished. We do things together as a family. Every year at Christmastime we go for ten days to the mountains and everybody goes skiing. This is our vacation. One year we went to Mexico.

Some Valleysiders credit their mid-western roots for their children's strong sense of family:

> It's probably something which has rubbed off from us because we are both from the midwest. On the 4th of July we had about 60 people at a cabin at the lake. Every Christmas dinner growing up there were 40 people at the table, Thanksgiving the same.

This same parent observed that not all Valleysiders share their family orientation.

> We enjoy our family. It seems like we are enthused about family dinners. A lot don't take the time and effort to promote that. I have talked to a lot of people who are looking forward to the day when their kids are gone.

It is difficult to do things together on a regular basis, some Valleysiders point out, since each member of the family has a seperate schedule and even meals may be difficult to arrange.

> I know that our times now are very stressful and in the home situation there is not the closeness to family. They are scattered. I know in my own family there is coming and going. We try to have at least one meal together, if possible, each day, and we try to comunicate. But communication is broken down in the family.

This parent, like others, felt that in today's society it is difficult to maintain a strong and united family.

Indeed, many Valleysider families fall short of the American ideal of the strong nuclear family. Less than half of the sampled youth lived with both of their natural parents (45 percent). For the majority, either one parent had died (12 percent) or their parents were divorced (43 percent). This latter group included many cases of parents who had remarried and established new two-parent households; it also included 3 cases of desertion by one of the parents. In the cases of a parent remarrying, some children remained in close touch with both parents and also had become close to their step-parent.

Beliefs about America

The stresses and strains of life in America notwithstanding, Valleysiders believe fervently in their country's greatness. Most

especially they value freedom and economic opportunity. Even with all its faults, one parent observed, "it's the greatest country in the world. We have more freedom, we have more riches, we have more opportunity." Another parent described her feelings as follows:

> There is so much. Just knowing for my kids that the world is theirs if they want it. They just have to go after it, and I think that's great. Just to be able to sit and talk and write about what our government is doing, that is a freedom that a lot of people don't even think about.

Others noted that "it's great that people can start out with nothing and really become something." Valleysider parents support "free enterprise" and believe that initiative pays off.

With respect to the personal freedoms enjoyed in this country, some appreciate most the right not to conform. Perhaps we do conform, one parent observed, "so as not to be viewed as weird. But it is our right to do what we want, so long as we are not infringing on others and not causing problems." The combination of freedom and opportunity, some Valleysiders note, is the major reason why people from all over the world wish to immigrate to the United States.

Valleysiders are less uniform in commenting upon what they dislike about their country. Some say, quite directly, that everything is good here and that there is nothing that they dislike. Inflation and the tax system bother many. Valleysiders resent, on the one hand, that the richest Americans pay the least taxes and, on the other the other, that minorities and the poor are entitled to various health, welfare, and employment opportunties not available to the middle class. Crime, the court system, and the government are high on others' list of gripes. Many believe, however, that the deficits are the price we must pay for our freedom. All in all Valleysiders are proud to be Americans. Few would consider living anywhere else.

B. Punjabis

Settlement in the United States: 1900-1965

The first Jats entered northern India from Central Asia between 100 B.C. and 400 A.D. (Gill 1975). Centuries later many of their descendents became followers of a new and reformist religion. Sikhism was founded in India by Guru Nanak[7] around the year 1500. By the end of the 18th century Sikhs were able to push out their Moslem rulers and to establish a Sikh kingdom, which lasted until British rule

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7. Guru means spiritual or religious teacher.

spread throughout India in 1849. The Indian immigrants to Valleyside are largely Punjabi Jat Sikhs, that is, they come from the state of Punjab, are followers of the Sikh religion, and are members, by birth, of a traditional farm-owning group.

The first group of Asian Indian immigrants came to the United States during a twenty year period, from 1899 to 1920.8/ A sizeable minority of the newcomers were well educated professionals who took up residence in urban areas. The majority, however, were peasant farmers from the Punjab Province of northwest India; they settled largely in California's Sacramento, San Joaquin, and Imperial Valleys. Almost all were men, either young bachelors, or married men who had temporarily left their families to work in the United States. Many became active in the Gadar party. As party members they worked hard to free India from British domination and easily identified with America for her own revolutionary war and her Bill of Rights safeguarding individual and religious freedoms.9/

The total number of Indians in the United States during this early period probably never totalled more than 6,400 (La Brack 1980:64). They were, nevertheless, viewed as America's newest Asian threat. The "Hindus" were caught up in the prevailing anti-Asian sentiment.10/ More than 300,000 Chinese immigrants had arrived during the preceeding half century. The number of Japanese immigrants was on the rise, with nearly 130,000 entering the country between 1901

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8. The present account of the early history of Punjabis in the United States draws heavily upon La Brack's (1980) socio-historical study of the Sikhs of Northern California.

9. While Punjabis identified with this country's ideals, they were much distressed by the realities of anti-Asian sentiment and the legal barriers to their advancement. Juergensmeyer (1982) notes that the Sikhs had left behind an oppressive situation in India expecting to find a much greater degree of freedom in America. Their reaction to the new oppression was to return to concerns of the native country. Activities of the Gadar Party represented a combination of ethnic anger and nationalist pride. Lacking power to combat the racism of this country, they sought instead to overthrow the oppressor in their homeland.

10. Although some of the earliest immigrants from India were Hindus, most of those involved in farm work were Sikhs. The confusion occured becuase India in those days was called Hindustan, and because few Americans knew anything of India's religious diversity. Unable to explain adequately in English their background, many Sikhs simply went along with the "Hindu" designation.

and 1910.11/ Legal sactions, together with American's racist attitudes effectively blocked the advancement of most Asian Indians for nearly fifty years.

The California Alien Land Act of 1913, while not stringently enforced, prohibited Indians from owning land. The Immigration Act of 1917 barred most classes of Asians, including Indians, from entry into the United States. Natives of countries from within the "barred zone," with few exceptions, were excluded for the next thirty years. A further blow to Indians' status in the United States occurred in 1923 when the Supreme Court declared in the case U.S. v. Thind12/ that not all "Caucasians" are "white persons" and, therefore, that Indians, while Caucasian, were ineligible for citizenship. Those who already had become naturalized citizens had their citizenship revoked. It was twenty-three years before Indians, once more, could apply for citizenship.13/

During the next two decades the number of Asian Indians dropped from approximately 6,000 to 1,200 (La Brack 1982) with probably less than 400 remaining in the northern Sacramento Valley. Unable to reunite with their families or arrange marriages with Indian brides, those left in America were forced either to remain single, or to take non-Indian wives. Many married Mexican or Mexican American women.14/

The Immigration Act of 1946 brought relief to Asian Indians by opening the door once more to legal immigration and naturalization. The new law, at least in principle, made possible the reunification of men with their families, visits back to India, and the choice of brides in accordance with traditional patterns. At about the same time the long awaited goal of an independent India was achieved. The victory of independence, for which many overseas Sikhs had long struggled, was dampened by India's partition into two seperate nations. The accompanying division of the Punjab Province between India and

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11. The Chinese and Japanese immigration figures come from Vialet's (1980) history of U.S. immigration policy.

12. Bhagat Singh Thind, a Sikh.

13. Those whose citizenship had been revoked were never reinstated.

14. Leonard (1981, 1982) has recorded more than 250 Indian-Mexican unions which occurred in California before 1948. Almost all involved Sikh men. Her research has revealed only 5 to 7 Indian women here before that date. The offspring of the Sikh-Mexican marriages had little knowledge of their Indian heritage. Few ever visited India or learned the Punjabi language. Their home life was more Mexican than Punjabi and, for the most part they married other Mexicans, or mainstream Americans.

Pakistan caused hundreds of thousands of Sikh and Muslim families to relocate. In the process ancestral homelands were abandoned and new lives begun under the harshest of conditions.

Life for Sikhs in the U.S. remained much as before. The Immigration Act of 1946 had altered the rules, but the rate of immigration was strictly controlled, with only 100 Asian Indians allowed to immigrate each year, regardless of their country of birth. Hostility against Asian immigrants also continued, based on fear of cheap labor and resentment of a way of life considered at odds with "American" ideals.

Sikh Settlement 1965 - 1980

The Immigration Act of 1965 removed the racist features of earlier laws and abolished the national origins quota system. The Act established a annual ceiling of 20,000 for immigrants from India and set up seven categories of persons eligible for visas, four of which gave preference to relatives of U.S. citizens and permanent residents. Other categories were reserved for those with professional skills desired by the U.S. and those willing to invest specified amounts of capital in American business.

During the next decade the number of annual arrivals from India increased dramatically, from 582 in 1965 to 14,939 in 1975.15/ The overwhelming majority of new arrivals are professional and technical workers, or their families. Most settle in urban areas. According to the 1980 Census there are now 361,544 Asian Indians living in the United States, including 57,989 in California16/

The Indians who settle in Valleyside continue, for the most part, to be farmers rather than professionals. They gain entry into the United States under the provisions of the Immigration Act which enable family members to reunite. Those who have become citizens can sponsor their relatives (parents, children, and siblings). Young people may also arrange residence visas for their fiancees or new spouses. The 1965 Immigration Act made it possible, for the first time, for Punjabi Sikhs to establish extended family units in the United States.

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15. U.S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service Annual Report, 1975.

16. State Census Data Center, Sacramento, CA.

Between 1965 and 1980 the number of Punjabis living in and around Valleyside increased tenfold to more than 6,000.17/ The 1965 Act permitted the Punjabi population to expand rapidly through a process of chain migration. As families are reunitied in the United States, brothers or sisters arrive bringing their spouses and children. After five years, the spouse if he or she chooses, may apply for citizenship and, as a citizen, can sponsor members of his or her immediate familiy.18/

The newest immigrants to Valleyside are similar in many respects to those who preceded them to the United States. They continue to be largely Jat Sikhs from the Doaba region of Punjab.19/ Most come because they believe economic and educational opportunities to be far better in the United States than in India and because they believe they can adapt relatively easily to life in Valleyside due to its many similarities to their former life in Punjab. They know, furthermore,

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17. In 1954 Jacoby (1954) reported only 300 Punjabis in the Valleyside area. The number had increased to around 700 by 1966 (Wenzel 1966). Ten years later La Brack (1980:256) estimated the bi-county Punjabi community to be some 4,000 and growing at a rate of approximately 500 new arrivals per year. Local estimates of the present Punjabi population range from 5,000 to 10,000. According to the 1980 Census, however, only 2,764 Asian Indians live in the bi-county, an obvious undercount since more than 900 Punjabi youngsters attend school in the Valleyside Unified School District alone.

18. In 1982 the U.S. Senate passed an immigration bill which omitted the special "fifth" preference currently given to brothers and sisters of adult U.S. citizens wishing to immigrate to the United States. A similar bill failed to pass in House of Representatives, but should the fifth preference be eliminated at a future date, the primary Punjabi strategy for family reunification in Valleyside will come rapidly to a halt. There currently is a backlog of nearly 700,000 persons (all nationalities) who have petitioned for this category at consular offices throughout the world (U.S. Senate Report No. 97-485, 1982:41).

19. Nearly 90 percent of Valleyside's Punjabis are Jat Sikhs. The remainder are Hindus, Moslems, or Sikhs from non-agriculturalist backgrounds. The percentage of Sikhs in Valleyside contrasts sharply with their representation in India, where Hindus account for about 85 percent and Sikhs only 2 percent of the total population. In Punjab Sikhs are the majority group, but Hindus, who live mostly in urban areas, represent a substantial minority.

Doaba, a rich and fertile area of Punjab, often compared to California's Central Valley, includes the districts of Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, and Kapurthala. The large majority of Valleyside's Sikhs come from villages in Jullundur and Hoshiarpur.

that family members can be counted on for assistance as they begin new lives some 11,000 miles from their native land.

Although many Punjabis feel they are "better off" in America than they were in India, those who settle in Valleyside have left behind a family farm and a life where they employed others to work for them. Though most have only small holdings in Punjab, they had the security of owning their property outright and being able to raise the food needed to feed a family.

Sikhs in India

Punjab, of India's 18 states, is today the most economically developed with respect to both agriculture and light industry (P. Singh 1975). The state's comparative prosperity is linked directly to the characteristics of it's Sikh majority and their ability to persevere in the face of hardship. Partition in 1947 had rendered at least half of the Sikh population penniless (G. Singh 1970), yet, as in earlier periods of their history, they were able to build new lives. Punjab's best agricultural land had been left behind in Pakistan. New holdings in the east had to be irrigated and cultivated. In 1966 the Punjab's borders again were changed, in this case to create a state in which Sikhs were the majority and in which Punjabi was the official language. In the process Punjab lost important industrial centers, together with forest, water, and mineral resources (P. Singh 1975).

Once deficient in food production, Punjab today exports a large surplus, providing in some years as much as two thirds of the country's wheat store and nearly half of its rice store (Stevens 1982). Over 70 percent of the Punjabis are engaged in agriculture, with wheat, rice, sugar cane, and seasame seed the major crops. Over 80 percent of the land area in Punjab is under cultivation,20/ compared with only 10 percent of the land area in the state of California (La Brack 1980). Per capita income in Punjab is the highest in India. The state's success is explained in large part by the enterprise, skill, and ingenuity of the Sikh farmers.

Many Sikhs have left Punjab to take up technical and professional positions in India's cities and in other countries throughout the world. In spite of the comparative prosperity of Punjab, the state is more densely populated than many parts of India, with 260 persons per square kilometer versus 182 for India as a whole (P. Singh 1975). While only 3 percent of India's population, Sikhs provide more than 10 percent of the nation's soldiers and are widely respected for their

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20. The statistics on Punjab come from D. Dhillon, Consultant, Community Outreach Project, Center for South and Southeast Asia Studies, University of California, Berkeley, August 1982.

martial prowess.21/ Sikhs lead the country in engineering and medical skills and control much of the country's highway transportation business (buses, trucks, taxis). Also known for their abilities as sportsmen, Sikhs in some years have made up as much as half of India's Olympic team. (G. Singh 1970).

Most of the Jat Sikhs who remain in Punjab are engaged in farming. Families with large holdings have prospered as a result of the "Green Revolution" brought about by mechanization, irrigation, and high yield varities of wheat and rice. The large majority of farmers, however, have insufficient land to support new generations of family members. Small industries, which are also flourishing in Punjab today, employ many of the state's residents who are not involved in farming, largely non-Jat Sikhs. In spite of the state's expanding economy, many Punjabis, including those with high school and college education, are unable to find work. One solution to the labor problem is emigration. A family will join together to assist younger members to emigrate to other countries where opportunities are far greater. Most households in the villages from which Valleyside Punjabis come have at least one person living abroad.

Perspectives On America

Punjabis come to Valleyside knowing that, with the help of relatives, they will find work and will be able to support their family. Few regret their decision to leave India. Punjabis appreciate America's material advantages. Several even called their new homeland a "paradise," when contrasting life in Valleyside with life in village Punjab.

> For the ladies, there is no more smoke. They don't have to throw away the manure. They don't have to look for cinders to clean the pots and pans. They only have to go to the refrigerator, and take something out of sacks. The don't have to mill the wheat to flour. They can talk to relatives and friends on the telephone here.

Comparing the life of men, this same Punjabi observed that even "laborers" in the United States have "opportunities."

> You can work hard, save money, and can do something after that. In India you cannot do this. Working as a laborer you cannot even eat your roti [bread]. But here, after work, you come home

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21. The Sikhs were highly regarded by the British for their military skill and during British rule of India constituted as much as one third of the country's armed forces (personal communication, D. Dhillon, 10/13/82).

and do not have to worry about feeding the cattle. There, you feed the cattle, bring in the hay. There is no end. Even if you have nothing else to do, [farm] work is still waiting. [Researcher: "Milking the cow, too."] It is all work. Here the cow is fastened in the refrigerator.

Other Punjabis agreed that opportunity exists in the United States, but only for the industrious.

I will tell you the truth. Money is indeed on the trees. But it's hard to pick it down. There is more work than in India, a lot of work if someone wishes to do it. If someone doesn't, then it's hard for him here, as well as India.

Punjabis in India, some say, believe "dollars grow on trees" in America. They have heard stories of how their countrymen have prospered through orchard farming in Valleyside.

Among the qualities they like about America Punjabis also cite good housing ("it is air conditioned"), "nice cars," the "roads," and the overall better facilities. They appreciate, furthermore, the high quality and ready availability of food. "You can get fresh, clean food; you can eat whatever you like and not get infected by it," one Punjabi woman commented.

The possibility of finding work, and with it the ability both to save and to purchase goods, ranks first among Punjabis' positive views of America.

If you want to become something, you can, through hard work. If you want to start a business, there are opportunities available. You can have money from the banks. You can buy everything. What you need is money. In India, even if you do have the money, you can't get something. It is not available....There you are shown pictures of things. Here you can actually get it for yourself. Here you can buy things cheap. You can afford things....That is why even if you work as a laborer here, there are still opportunities available. You can work hard, save money, and do something after that. In India you cannot do this. [Punjabi man]

Punjabis especially like the openness and fairness of American institutions, and the laws which safeguard an individual's rights. In India the system is more personalistic, more tied to family connections, influence, and wealth. Here, they note, "even the laborer" has "equal rights" and is "respected." It is not the same in India. one man explained. Here,

if you go to see the judge, or go to any office, they will speak to you. But there they are all stuck up. They will not talk to you straight. There is no courtesy. If you want a ticket you say, "give them a bribe and then you might get a ticket." If you

do get a ticket, even then you don't get a seat. What type of a country is that?

Of special importance to Punjabis are the opportunities for youth. Because of India's scarcity of jobs, low wages, and high cost of living, they believe America offers more to their children. Here, they say, their children have the chance to become well educated, obtain good jobs, and live in comparative safety in their Valleyside surroundings.

Punjabi View of Valleyside

Like Valleysiders, Punjabis consider their new home a good place to raise children. The most frequently cited qualitites relate to the rural atmosphere: "countryside," "farm life," an "open area," "similar to Punjab." Several noted that "we live in the same way as we did in India." Also appreciated are the "good weather" and the "clean air." One long term Punjabi resident assessed the surroundings as follows:

> It is the house of fruit and flowers. There is less crime here, less than other areas. There is work available. Even a child can work and still have his education....It is a very peaceful city, so far. When we came it was absolutely peaceful.

While most Punjabis are stongly positive in their views of America and Valleyside, they do miss certain qualities of their former life in India. America's tax system is worrisome to some:

> My husband works in the fields for a low income....This money that we earn, first it is taxed and then when we go to the store, they tax you again....Our Punjabis are so fed up with paying all these taxes....You do make money here, but...this double tax is difficult to pay.

For others, the major concern is expensive health care. They are accustomed to India, where all medical costs are lower, or to England, where health services are provided free by the government. Agricultural workers in Valleyside receive no health benefits. For those receiving minimum, or near minimum, wages, medical costs are prohibitive, "the number one disadvantage in this country," according to one Punjabi, whose health had failed him.

For many Punjabis, however, the drawbacks of life in America relate to the quality of human relations. Life is "busier," there are more "worries," less "contentment" and "peace of mind." Everyone is too busy to socialize as they did in India, or England.

> No one sits down with you to chat. There is no social life here, no place where you can sit together. In England you go to a pub

> and have fun. Here there is no fun for our people. [Punjabi who lived for some years in England]

Punjabis, when they do get together socially, do so at home, or at the gurdwara [Sikh temple]. Few socialize in public places; the hostile attitudes of the mainstream community toward Punjabis is a major deterrent.

Prejudice is a major grievance. For a few Punjabis, the clash between cultures is sufficiently troublesome to cause regret about leaving India.

> Their culture does not mix with ours. Secondly, they don't consider us as part of the people of this country. They are prejudiced towards us....Sometimes we even think that it would be a good idea to go back to India, as we do not feel happy.

All Punjabis are affected by the prejudice. Many adults, however, unlike their children, have little occasion to interact with Valley-siders, unless they seek employment apart from farming. Punjabi young people, on the other hand, attend the same schools as the rest of the population and are daily faced with the problems of ignorance about their culture, prejudice, and even overt hostile actions toward them by some members of the larger community. Chapters Four and Nine provide detailed discussion of social relations in Valleyside at both the community school levels, including the impact of prejudice on educational opportunity.

Equally troublesome to many Punjabis is the reality that in America they no longer can be their own boss. In Punjab, only rarely would a Jat Sikh work for wages on another man's farm.

> In India we won't work for someone else. Even if we die of hunger, we still wouldn't work for someone else. For generations it has been this way. [Punjabi man]

Jat Sikhs traditionally have been the employers, not the employed. To work for another makes them feel like a chamar, an "untouchable." Punjabis respect American attitudes toward labor, however, and adapt quite readily to the new circumstances.

> Here they say it does not make any difference, that everyone works for others. Like my brother has an orchard and I work for him. But I wouldn't work for him in India....Here, whether the orchard belongs to your relatives or your brother or "untouchables," no matter whose, there is no difference. You have to work. In India it is not the same. They say you are [like] servants. The method here is better. If they worked like this in India, then no one would die of hunger. [Punjabi man]

For most Punjabis in Valleyside, farm labor is the only option, at least initially. To support one's family a man has little choice but to work for wages on another man's farm.

Although they do adjust to work conditions in Valleyside, Punjabis, when questionned, point out the differences between their new new life and that in Punjab. Some note that in Punjab they were free to hold non-farm employment, while others worked for them on their family farms.

> When we were in India, we had an understanding that life in America was going to be really great--that we wouldn't have to work as hard, as hard as we do here. There we had a job [teaching] and did field work, too. But here the environment is totally different. We have to go out and work in the fields really hard. You have to earn money so you can feed your children. All you have when you come over is $8.00. This is the amount you can bring over [legally take out of India]. Gradually a person is able to become self-reliant. You have to even work double shifts. In India we never work double shifts. You see, because everyone has their own land, their own crops. So you don't need to work.

Most Punjabis, when they were still in India, were unaware of how difficult their life in America would actually be.

> In India we used to think they have an easy life in America. They have cars. But we found out when we got here that you have to work sweat and blood in order to buy them.

Few Punjabis labored as hard physically on their farms in India as they must in Valleyside.

> In India we wouldn't work this hard. We had servants. They would have been working and I would have been sitting. Here you have to work whole days, day after day. In India you sat and talked with your friends.

Punjabis miss the more relaxed atmosphere of village life in India.

Punjabi women, although they grew up in villages and their fathers and husbands were farmers, themselves seldom worked in the fields. The influence of Moslem rule, now nearly 200 years past, continues to shape standards with respect to the status and role of women in India, and in other countries where Sikhs have settled. Neither in Fiji,22/ nor in India, one mother commented, would women be

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22. There are six or seven Indian families from the Fiji Islands living in Valleyside. All have ancestoral roots in Punjab.

"allowed" to go out to work. Standards differ in India's urban areas, where women have more employment opportunities than in the villages, but most Valleyside Punjabis come directly to the United States from rural Punjab and, thus, bring with them, traditional attitudes about women working.

Once in Valleyside, however, women, like men, adapt to their new surroundings. For the periods of the year when they can find employment, either in the fields or in the canneries, most Punjabi women do "go out to work." Their wages are an essential part of the family's earnings. Comments by Sikh women illustrate the contrast between former and present lives:

> Here we have to really work hard. The women never worked over there. They don't go out into the fields. We had more time for ourselves. But here we must work; otherwise we would not be able to pick up the cost of living. We had an easy life over there.

Another women, referring both to Fiji and India, commented:

> There you have land and you have money and you have a lot of servants. But here you have to do everything yourself. You have to change. You can't have servants at home. Like in India each home has 3 or 4 servants--those who are better off. You don't cook; you don't wash. Everything is cooked and you are served. It was a good life over there, but people think maybe it's better in America. Here, you can't stay at home. You can't afford to. It's very hard. The rich people don't want to come. They have better opportunities there.

Quite a few Punjabis noted the absence of servants in the United States. Most, furthermore, are in no position to afford household help, were it available.

Even those Punjabis who have become economically successful and now own their own farms note the increased worry, related to their heavy indebtedness to local banks and the high risks involved in orchard farming.

> Here we have to pay back the loans. We are not sure if our fruit is going to be accepted or not. Another thing, it is very busy here. You have a burden on your mind all of the time, that you should do this, and this, and this. [Punjabi farmer]

Indeed, the life of a farmer, or farm laborer, in Valleyside allows little time for leisure. Nevertheless, in spite of the difficulties, many Punjabi families have done well, a few extremely well. And, barring death or disability, all are able to support their families. Punjabis take great pride in being able to "stand on their feet" in their new homeland. The strategies used for "making it" are discussed in the following chapter.

C. Summary

This section, as background to our analysis of students' performance in school, has provided partial comparison of the Valleysider and Punjabi populations living in Valleyside. Valleysiders, our term for the mainstream majority, believe strongly in this nation's greatness. They value, above all else, the freedoms and the opportunities available to them in this country. Most Valleysiders, by dint of hard work, have been able to build comfortable lives for themselves. The families of our sample of high school seniors had a median income of $30,000. In most cases both parents, or stepparents, were employed. Although a farming community, no Valleysider family in our sample supported itself directly through farming. Employment opportunities in the area are limited, Valleysiders note, and few of the parents interviewed had any plans to change their jobs. While most Valleysiders believe that people in Valleyside are hired on the basis of their credentials and ability, without regard to race or ethnic background, many also note that personal connections have played an important role in securing jobs for themselves and their children.

Almost all Valleysiders feel their community is a good place to raise children because of its small- town atmosphere, its relative safety compared with larger cities, and because of the availability of many outdoor activities for young people. Family life is important to Valleysiders, although many find it increasingly difficult to do things together. Each member of the family, they point out, has his or her own activities and schedules.

Compared to the majority of Valleysiders, Punjabis are newcomers, most having arrived in the area during the last 15 years, although some Punjabi families have lived in Valleyside for two or three generations. Their numbers increased sharply after 1965 due to revisions in U.S. immigration laws. Previous laws, throughout the twentieth century, had discriminated against Asian Indians, barring them on the basis of national origin from immigrating to the United States, or from becoming American citizens.

Punjabis come to the United States because it provides economic and educational opportunities unavailable in India. They come to Valleyside because their relatives live there and can help them out until they have adapted to life in America and can support themselves financially. Like Valleysiders, they value the personal freedoms of this country and the opportunity to get ahead on the basis of hard work.

While most Punjabi immigrants to Valleyside were farm owners back in India, their holdings there were small and they had little chance to accumulate any savings. Opportunities for themselves and their children were limited. As the next two sections will show, most

Punjabis in Valleyside not only are able to support their families and to save, even though they must work, at least initially, for the minimum wage in jobs rejected by most members of the mainstream. Immigration laws no longer discriminate against Asians, but many Valleysiders, like many mainstream Americans elsewhere in the country, continue to equate the mainstream way of life with the "American way of life." Thus, Punjabis who wish to guide their lives according to traditional Indian values are viewed as un-American. As we shall show, because Punjabis maintain a family system and life style which enable them to succeed economically, in spite of being cast in a subordinate status, Valleysiders cry "unfair," even though the Valleysider median income is twice that of the average Punjabi family. Punjabi and Valleysider success strategies, as we shall indicate, influence patterns of child rearing and, in turn, adolescent perspectives on schooling.

CHAPTER THREE

PUNJABI SUCCESS THEORY

Punjabi Sikh families, in India and in many countries throughout the world, have usually been able to obtain solid economic self-sufficiency, often substantial prosperity. Wherever they settle, they draw upon the same belief system and the same set of strategies for "making it."1/ Punjabis in Valleyside are no exception.

A. Employment Niches

The overwhelming majority of Punjabi families living in Valleyside are involved in orchard farming. Peaches are their major crop, followed by prunes, walnuts, and pears. By American standards the work they do is hard and the wages low. Fruit picking is the job of last resort for most Americans, but for Punjabis it is a beginning, a way to get started in America.2/

Earlier waves of Punjabi immigrants to America, those who came legally, or illegally, during the first half of this century, were true migrants. They followed the crops, taking whatever work was available. Most lived, at least initially, in labor camps and sent money home to assist the families they had left behind. Many expected to return to India after saving sufficient means. For much of the century Stockton had the largest settlement of Punjabis, but the

1. See Helweg (1979) and Chadney (1976) for discussions of Sikh communities in England and Canada.

2. Although farmers in India, Sikhs in most overseas communities have been employed in small businesses or factories.

population center has gradually shifted to Valleyside. During an interview one elderly Punjabi recalled these early years:

> [Researcher] I have heard that a lot of people came here to Valleyside, and to Stockton and Fresno. What is the reason behind this?
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> [Punjabi man] The reason is that most of our Punjabis are farmers. In these areas they do farming. They came because they had friends and relatives here. When we finished work here [in Valleyside], we would go over to Stockton and dig the beans and peas. When the work was finished there, we would move to Fresno and pick the grapes. When the grapes finished we would move back and pick the peaches here. We moved all around.

Today's newcomers live in Valleyside year round. Some move elsewhere to pursue better employment opportunities, but they no longer follow the crops on a seasonal basis.

Most find enough work in the Valleyside area, as long as they are willing to do farm labor. And labor they do, obtaining their first job through the help of the relatives who sponsored them. This is true even for those who, back in India, had held non-farm positions, such as civil servant, teacher, or truck driver. Those who immigrate to America from England were employed there most frequently in small businesses or in factories.

Self-sufficiency is the immediate objective for a Punjabi family. They know relatives will help them get established, but they strive to "stand on their feet" as rapidly as possible. Coming with only a few dollars from India, a family first works to feed and clothe itself. Once basic necessities are cared for, a family tries to save enough for a car and household furnishings. The ultimate goal, for most, is to purchase orchard land, and to become, once more, farm owners rather than farm laborers. If this goal cannot be achieved, some families will look for factory work, or any steady employment. Those with university degrees, will seek jobs more suited to their education.

Family Income

At $3.35 an hour (the federal minimum wage) a person employed year round for 40 hours per week will gross $6968. At $4.50 per hour gross annual income increases to $9360. Most Punjabi farm laborers feel fortunate if they earn $4.50 an hour. Those who do usually have more experience and can operate the farm equipment used for cultivation. The majority work with their hands, pruning, thinning, and picking peaches. Some men have steady work, year round, but still they are paid only for the days worked. During the winter rainy season they may be laid off for several days, or even weeks, at a stretch. Others prefer seasonal work, because they can arrange for

their wives and children to work alongside them in the peak summer season. Seasonal workers must constantly be on the lookout for employment, but those with experience can earn, over the course of a year, about the same amount as those employed year-round by a single farmer.

Women find work largely during the summer months, first thinning, then picking and sorting peaches. Some also work with prunes, or at a local nursery. Others hoe tomatoes. A few, mostly those who have lived in Valleyside for many years, get hired seasonally by local peach canneries. Cannery work pays better than farm work, and provides additional benefits such as overtime pay and health insurance. In the course of the season a woman who works in the fields may gross $3,000, and more if she is able to find other work during the fall or winter. She will also be entitled to unemployment compensation, based on her earnings.

Newcomers will earn less. Because many farm laborers contract for piece work, picking by the bushel or thinning by the tree, the inexperienced worker (man or woman) may end up with less than minimum wage. One man explained his own experience:

> To be truthful, the big farmers pay good money, Anglo or East Indian. But the small farmer doesn't pay much. Minimum wages. A big trick is to pay by the bushel. The rich farmer will pay $1.50 for pruning, and the small farmer will pay in pennies. You may be earning less than the minimum wage. The new people don't care....Still it looks good. They don't have any money, so $10.00 daily is better than nothing....One time I worked for a guy, and I'm not a slow worker, when I started working for him, he was paying 50 cents for one tree for thinning. And the trees were the same size as the previous far mer's trees who had paid $1.30 per tree. I made $12.00 a day when I had been making $40. I quit after two days! New people don't have connections. They don't have communication skills. And they can't find another job.

The first years in a new country are, understandably, the hardest. Those most recently arrived, who must face both their inexperience in peach farming and the recent round of inflation, barely get through the year. One man here just over a year from England commented that he made only $500 to $600 a month, yet it cost $1000 a month to support his family. "The money you make in the season," he said, "you just spend it all in the winter."

Indeed, most families count on summer income to help them through the year. In the height of the season they may work seven days a week, 12 or 14 hours each day, sometimes longer. Children work alongside their parents, according to their strength and experience. Working together a family of 4 or 5 can earn $200 to $250 a day at the

peak of peach season. In the course of the year husband and wife together will gross between $12,000 and $15,000.3/

In spite of low wages and back-breaking work, often in the heat of the California sun, a majority of Sikh families say they are financially better off in America. Unlike India, they are able here to find work and to accumulate some savings. Over a twelve-month period, a family may save several thousand dollars, or much more if they have older children, whose earnings may be pooled with those of their parents to help the family stand on its feet. Savings are used later for a car, or down payment on a house, or to repay the costs of the move from India, which for airfare alone is around $900 per family member.

Farm Ownership

Land ownership is a symbol of prestige and contributes to family respect and position. Until a few years ago a family's savings, together with bank loans and assistance from relatives, would eventually have gone to purchase a small parcel of orchard land, often with a farm house on it. The large majority of Jat Sikhs who arrived in Valleyside by 1970 purchased farm land.4/ Through a combination of more hard work, thrift, and farming ability some have been able to increase their holdings from an initial 10 or 20 acres to several hundred. Several Sikh families have become extremely successful; the largest Sikh land holder now owns more than 6,000 acres in the Valleyside area, with additional holdings elsewhere in the state and in Canada. Small landowners, those with less than 40 acres, may still need to supplement the family income through parttime work for another farmer. Families who have arrived since 1970, now the majority of Valleyside Punjabis, have, for the most part, been unable to purchase farms. The price of good orchard land is simply too expensive.

Even in the early period of Punjabi settlement, when laws restricted land ownership by Asians, a few men were able to rise from the ranks of laborer to that of tenant farmer and even farm owner. Miller (1950) estimated that by 1947 thirty-four Sikhs owned nearly 1,000 acres of property in the northern Sacramento Valley, mostly orchard land. By 1974 the number of Sikh farmers in the Valleyside area--owners and operators--had increased to 219. Together they

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3. This contrasts sharply with the median family income of $30,000 for the Valleysiders in our sample.

4. Of the Sikh families in our sample, 25 percent owned farm land. All of this group had arrived in Valleyside by 1970, some much earlier, giving them time to save for a down payment before land prices began to escalate in the mid-seventies. The non-farm owning majority of our sample all had arrived since 1972.

farmed some 6,000 acres in the Valleyside area worth approximately $7 million in 1974 dollars. By 1982 peach holdings alone had grown to nearly 10,000 acres, with the total value of land owned by Punjabis in the Valleyside area estimated at $42 million (La Brack 1982a).

At the time of fieldwork (1980-83) the future of peach farming appeared increasingly precarious. Although the value of productive orchard land had tripled in recent years, to $7,000 or more per acre, the demand for canning peaches had dropped sharply. Between 1975 and 1980 the sale of cling peaches declined by 30 percent. Warehouses were overstocked with canned peaches and some farmers were unable to find outlets for their new crops. Several canneries had closed. Payments for previous years' sales were delayed, forcing some farmers to fall behind on payments to the banks and to have difficulty obtaining new production loans. Quite a few farmers, moreover, have been forced to pull their trees to reduce overall peach acreage. Between 1969 and 1982, because of tree-pull programs, California's total acreage of cling peaches has been reduced by almost half, from 64,000 to 35,000 (Burnham 1982). The 1982 and 1983 seasons, furthermore, the two wettest years for California in this century, have been a disaster for many peach farmers. An expected loss of 100,000 peach trees in 1983, or the equivalent of 1,000 acres, follows losses of 140,000 trees in 1982 (Burnham 1983). Since most Punjabi farmers raise peaches, they have been particularly hard hit by the present economic conditions.

Recent arrivals from India are forced to remain as farm laborers, or to seek employment elsewhere. Few non-farm positions are available to Punjabis in the Valleyside area. The newest immigrants, like those before them, nevertheless, continue to employ traditional Punjabi strategies in order to stand on their feet in their adopted homeland.

B. Meaning of Success

Family is of paramount importance to Punjabis. Tradition requires youth to marry early and bear children. A life in harmony with others and a good home are goals for all Punjabis. So, too, is "self-reliance, which, for a Punjabi, means the ability to "stand on one's feet." This phrase is used repeatedly by Punjabis when defining success. All adults, and children according to their age, are expected to contribute what they can to the family good.

To be successful goes beyond material wealth. When asked the meaning of success in adult life typical Punjabi responses focused on the importance of such qualities as "respect for one another" and "doing good deeds." Punjabis believe a person reaps his, or her, just desserts in life. A strong commitment to "duty" includes "helping those who need help," leading a "good" life, and speaking ill of no one.

In discussing their views of a successful life Punjabi Sikhs point frequently to the teachings of their Gurus and of their scripture. One Sikh noted, for example, that your first responsibility is to make something of yourself, because "God is not going to make you a man the second time."

We focus here on three aspects of "making something of yourself": self-reliance, economic well-being, and strong families. Each is related to the education of children, both informally as it occurs at home, and formally as it occurs in school. Discussion of child rearing and educational opportunity for Punjabi youth follow in later chapters of this report.

C. Family Orientation

The group-oriented nature of Punjabi families is a key to their successful adaptation to life in America. By establishing their large family groupings in Valleyside, Punjabis are able to recreate many aspects of their former lifestyle. Punjabis share the traditional Indian value which places family duty before personal interest. For the Punjabi, an individual's roles and responsibilities in the family are prescribed by sex and age. Children learn at an early age to subordinate individual wishes to actions which will promote family honor and respect. Group harmony is the goal. The belief that "united you stand, divided you fall" is represented by the Punjabi term itfaq. Family members strive for consensus and seek to avoid conflict.5/

Punjabis come to America because they feel that it will be best for the family. Upon their arrival in Valleyside they are assisted by relatives, usually a brother or sister who sponsored their immigration. They are given lodging and transportation for as long as needed, and aided in securing work. As soon as possible, the new arrivals move into separate housing so as not to be an unnecessary burden on relatives. In Valleyside most Punjabi households consist of parents, their children, and, if an older son is married, possibly his wife and young children. A son-in-law may be a temporary resident, if his own family lives in India. By remaining for a time with his in-laws, the young man and his wife are able to accumulate some savings before establishing their own household. The average Punjabi household has six members, or two more than the average Valleysider

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5. See Cormack (1961) and Kuppuswamy (1975) on traditional Indian family values. For Sikh kinship terms and family structure in India, see Kessinger (1974) and Leaf (1972). Overseas variants are examined by Ballard (1973), Helweg (1979) and James (1974) for Great Britain; Ames and Inglis (1973) and Chadney (1980) for British Columbia; and La Brack (1980) for northern California.

household. Of the families sampled, the largest had 11 family members living in one house--two parents, five children, a daughter-in-law, and three grandchildren. Households in village Punjab often are larger than in Valleyside, but village housing lends itself to expansion, sometimes with separate sleeping quarters and kitchens for each nuclear family.

Parents assume that their daughters will move away from the household once married, but they expect their sons to remain at home. Girls join their husband's family, which, at the time of marriage, becomes their new area of prime responsibility. Sons, on the other hand, remain with their parents and join their father in running the family farm. This, at least, is the traditional pattern, and sons, including those in Valleyside, feel both a responsibility and a desire to stay nearby. When a son moves away to pursue better opportunities, it will often be a joint family decision. No matter where he lives, a son will consult his parents before making any major decision. He will also assist his parents financially, as necessary, just as they have helped him.

Punjabi families place great value on having a son. "In our culture," one father noted, "the families stay together and the son is the second man in charge. If the father dies the son takes over." Indeed, one Punjabi woman, a recent widow, recounted how her son, but 18 years old, had told her not to "worry about money." She had "full faith" that he could shoulder responsibility for "running the house." The young man had even told his mother, "I am not going to get married. Whatever we earn, we will spend together." In this case the son's marriage would not occur until the family once more was able to support itself.

Another father explained his own household structure by recounting a recent interchange between one of his sons and a real estate agent who was assisting with a home purchase.6/

[Agent] How many people are there in your family?

[Son] We are four brothers and one father.

[Agent] Do you live in the same house?

[Son] One of my brothers is still unmarried and he is looking for a job and living nearby [in another city]. But the rest of us are all together. Our parents are in charge.

[Agent] Who has the authority to sign?

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6. Summarized, omitting such phrases as "he said" and "she asked."

[Son] We have a separate balance [single checking account], but we cannot take out money without consulting each other first. Nor do we do it.

[Agent] Are you married?

[Son] We are and that is why we are looking for a five bedroom house.

[Agent] Will you all be able to live together?

[Son] We live in a joint family system. In India even my parents' parents were all together....This is the system in India. Our father makes all the decisions.

The father also noted that the agent's surprise upon learning that all the women in an Indian household share the chores, including child care. The major point which the son wished to emphasize was that in his family all the sons work together and live together, even after marriage, and that the children continue to defer to their parents in decisions which affect the joint family.

Few Sikh families living in Valleyside replicate the traditional village system to this degree. One Punjabi man noted, however, that he and his brother, now both grandfathers, continue to share a common bank account, even though they reside in separate households. Another extended family had purchased a four-unit apartment building so that they could all live close together. Many of the families interviewed had extensive family networks in the United States, with most relatives concentrated in Valleyside. The largest family groups included several hundred members all living in the Valleyside area.

American citizenship is an especially important objective for many Punjabis because of the preference which U.S. immigration law gives to brothers and sisters of citizens when they apply for visas.7/

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7. A recent Senate report (1982:6) on "immigration reform" states that "a desire to assimilate is often reflected by the rate at which an immigrant completes the naturalization process necessary to become a U.S. citizen." The report goes on to note that rates of naturalization by Asians are much higher than for immigrants from other parts of the world. For example, from a sample of those who gained permanent resident status in 1971 and who remained in the U.S. after 7 years, 67.8 percent of the Asian Indians had naturalized, compared with only 5 percent of the Mexicans. While we do believe that naturalization is symbolic of Indians commitment to make the U.S. their permanent homeland, the rapidity with which many become citizens is more a reflection of their desire to sponsor the admission of family members to this country than an indication of their "desire to assimilate."

Punjabis do what they can for members of their family. If relatives wish to immigrate, then one assists to the extent possible, by sponsoring them, by helping to finance the costs of the move from India, and by helping the new family get settled upon their arrival in Valleyside. The expansion of the family network in Valleyside also bring comfort to those already there. One's happiness is related to having the family together.

The Punjabi system of family interdependence also provides a sense of financial security to the individual. There are always others to turn to and to count on in times of need. In the later years of their lives Punjabis know their children will care for them; they are much less concerned, therefore, about social security and pensions than many mainstream Americans.

D. Economic Success

Punjabi family members help one another economically, both with their labor and with cash. Members of a single household may share one bank account, placing each member's earnings in the common account. A person may also turn to members of the extended family for financial help in purchasing land or establishing a business. One long-time resident of Valleyside noted, for example, that his uncle, who had immigrated before him, loaned him $30,000 to buy his first orchard. Other more recent arrivals commented upon similar assistance. Several members of a family, moreover, may join together in a business venture. Relatives may help a younger person purchase a home.

> One parent contrasted the Punjabi system with the "American way."
>
> Punjabis are very close people. We go and help our relatives. I could make thousands of dollars by asking my relatives and buy a business. After I set up the business, I could pay them back. Here you go to the bank. They ask you, "Where are you working? How much are you earning?" You say, "No where" [or $3.35 an hour]. Then they say, "We can't give you the loan and you can't go into business." We Punjabis go into business very quickly with the help of the relatives--the corporate family system.

Indeed the joint extended family system is a key to Punjabis' success.

Family ventures are not without their tensions. Decisions must be made jointly, or people must defer to others. To prevent any misunderstandings one man noted that his brother took care of all financial matters. "It is not pride," he explained. "It is just that we don't want any quarrel. If you keep quiet, time passes in unity. Unity is great. That's what I wish for all others."

Family and friendship networks serve, too, as conduits for the flow of information. The latest news from the Peach Association travels fast, as does word about any new job opening. Punjabis are always on the lookout for jobs for friends and relatives. Putting in a good word for someone to help him obtain employment, or passing along news that can increase another's farm profits, are everyday examples of service performed for others.8/

Of equal importance to group supportiveness in the Punjabi theory of success is individual initiative, hard work, and thrift.

Individual Initiative

Hard work and a willingness to endure hardship are essential keys to Punjabi success. These traits were characteristic not only of the earlier immigrants to the U.S., but also of those who turned the jungles of today's Pakistan into productive Punjab farm land. After India's independence and partition, roughly half of all Sikh families were forced to build new lives, and farms, either in the eastern portions of the former Punjab province, elsewhere in India, or in another country. We have earlier noted the tremendous success of the Sikhs in turning today's Punjab into India's most productive state. Their success, however, is not limited to Punjab. As one Sikh observed, "wherever the Punjabis go, they are successful." Another, referring to their success in America, noted that Punjabis see here a "chance to get ahead;" compared to India, one of the world's poorest countries, the United States provides vast opportunity for economic advancement.

Life in India has taught Punjabis to be frugal, another attribute which serves them well in America. The average Punjabi family living in Valleyside spends much less on food than most other American families. The Sikh diet is simple, inexpensive, and nutritious. Roti [whole wheat bread resembling a tortilla], milk, fresh vegetables, lentils, and yogurt are the basic ingredients of the Punjabi diet. Food is cooked in ghee (clarified butter) and is usually quite spicy. For special occasions sweets are served. Many Punjabis eat meat only once or twice a week, or less; quite a few are are vegetarians, although there is nothing in the Sikh religion which prohibits meat. Sikh families, to the degree possible, raise much of what they eat.

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8. Service to others," or seva, is one of the major values which motivate traditional Punjabi behavior and provide a framework for evaluating the behavior of others. In his discussion of Sikhs in England, Helweg (1979) emphasizes the importance of viewing Punjabi actions within a cultural context. He shows how family honor, or izzat, is of primary importance in guiding behavior, with seva one of the related concepts that helps enhance family reputation.

In India a farm family would have a cow to provide milk and milk products, as well as raise their own wheat. In Valleyside families will grow their own vegetables. Staples they purchase in large quantites. Non-vegetarian families eat a similar diet, accompanied by chicken or meat dishes, often curried.

Punjabis also spend little, comparatively, on clothing. The women prefer wearing the traditional salwar-kameez (a pair of loose pants and matching overblouse), which they sew themselves, and dupatta ("scarf," two yards long, worn around the upper body or over the head). On special occasions, a sari (six yards, or more, of colorful cloth wrapped in different styles) is worn. Girls wear slacks and a blouse, often handmade, to school, but will generally don a "suit" (salwar-kameez) at home, or when out socially. Boys, like their fathers, wear American trousers and shirts. A few of the older men will wear a kurta (long, loose panelled shirt) and jutian (pointy-toed slippers, often with curled-up tips).

Many of the men refrain from cutting their hair and beard. This is in keeping with the teachings of Guru Gobind Singh, who directed all those who wished to join the khalsa (body of Sikhs who follow the full teachings of the Gurus) to remain unshorn. The long hair of Sikh men has, over the years, set them apart from others, forcing them to stand up and be counted for their faith. Unshorn locks are piled neatly underneath a colorful turban (five yards of cloth wrapped tightly around the head). Boys, too young to wrap their own turbans, will wear their uncut hair in a top knot. Sikh women and girls also refrain from cutting their hair.

Compared to most of their Valleyside neighbors, Punjabis spend little on housing, living as many do in simple farm dwellings, and often sharing a home with members of the joint family. Punjabis also spend little or nothing on restaurants, or other forms of entertainment and recreation. Families do own televisions and, increasingly, videotape units which permit them to watch Indian movies, usually rented, at home. Weddings and trips back to India, to visit relatives, check on family property, or arrange a child's marriage, are the major outside expenses.

For those families who own fruit orchards, the cost of farming is held to the minimum through the use of joint-family labor. Since labor, as La Brack (1982b) points out, may amount to as much as half the cost of raising peaches, Punjabis create a major savings by using family members to do pruning, thinning, and picking. Punjabis are well suited to orchard farming because it does allow them to work together as a family unit and to maximize the return for their joint labor; even young children can make an important contribution to the family income.

Hard work and thrift, characteristic of most Punjabi families, are a means to attaining self-sufficiency and prosperity. A family's

reputation hinges on its being able to support itself. Self-reliance, in this sense, is a highly valued status.

E. Self-Reliance

Punjabis believe that initiative will be rewarded. Accordingly, they will do almost any job that provides a return for their effort, even if it requires rising at one o'clock in the morning during peach season, or working in the rain, or cold, or heat. Financial dependence is avoided. To accept handouts from others, especially in the form of welfare, means not only loss of family respect, but a loss of those qualities which have enabled Punjabis to make it through hard times. To have known hardship, in fact, contributes to one's drive for economic success in the Punjabi way of thinking. One woman, whose husband had died, rejected the idea of welfare. She wanted to work, but was concerned because she spoke only Punjabi, had little formal education, and could find no steady job. Another family, in which the father was disabled, had avoided welfare through the efforts of the eldest son to support the household. To do so had necessitated his dropping out of high school, even though he was an able student and had hoped to become an engineer.

Decrying the idea of welfare, one man explained that any Punjabis who accepted it suffered from confused values:

> They say, "What is the difference. We are here for money; so take the money in any way you can." When we came, even if we could not find work nearby, we went afar. Now, some feel "make money; work is not essential."

Another Punjabi's appraisal of welfare was far more cutting.

> We have seen hardship in our country. That is why we succeed. We say, "we should make something for ourselves." It is not just for us, but that our children will have an easier life....But the whites have sterilized the blacks [created a dependent lower class]. If you want to put an end to someone's generation, you sterilize them. That's what the doctors do. This government has sterilized them....They never gave them the chance to be able to stand.

This man condemned they system of welfare, as constituted in this country, far more than the welfare recipient.

In accordance with their attitudes about work, and their confidence in their abilities to stand on their feet and be successful, most Punjabis feel the burden of success rests on their own shoulders. Although "fate" and "God's grace" play a hand, each individual must do what he or she can. The system, they say, treats all the same. People reap what they deserve.

The Punjabi concept of self-reliance requires each person to pull his or her own weight. Rarely, however, do individuals strike out totally on their own. Punjabis move to locations where relatives have settled and, wherever they go, they seek to build a strong and viable community.

One regret that Punjabis have about life in America is that life is too busy. Even if one has friends and family close by, there is less time to share with others than was the case in India. The style of life in Valleyside, one man observed, works against the traditional sharing of decisions and seeking of others' advice:

> Here you have to rely on yourself more. In India you can always turn to friends and relatives for the right advice. Here everyone is involved in their own affairs....We don't have our own culture here. When you want to do something, you do it alone.... If a job needs to be done, you have to make your own decisions. Everyone is involved in their own affairs.

In America, this man noted, people are forced to branch out more on their own, as opposed to assuming their place within the group and being able to look to the group for support and advice.

F. Summary and Discussion

Punjabi Sikhs have a potent strategy for achieving success. To be sure, there are variations within the group, but most share the following qualities. They value hard work and initiative. They believe they have a duty to make the most of their circumstances. They believe, furthermore, in the equality of all human beings and feel an obligation to be of service to others. These qualities have enabled them, both in India and throughout the world, to overcome hardship and prosper. The traditional Punjabi theory of success relates to the Punjabi approach to child rearing and, in turn, to the school performance patterns of Punjabi youth.

One cannot help but note the commonalities between Punjabi immigrants to the United States and the Valleysiders. Both groups believe in making the most of one's opportunities, pulling oneself up by one's own boot straps, accepting all people as equal in the eyes of God, and helping those less fortunate. Punjabis choose to come to America because of these shared ideals and because of the opportunities available in this country.

The Punjabi way of life, however, also requires group decision-making, upholding family respect before personal interest, and the pooling of resources, both labor and money. Family members help one another get ahead and, in turn, receive help from others when needed. The Punjabi life style is generally simple, with little spent on such

basics as food, clothes, and houses. Punjabis, even those paid only minimum wages, are able to save substantial sums of money when the earnings of all family members are pooled. These traits, which are also keys to the Punjabis' success, set them apart from most Valleysiders and from the mainstream of American culture.

The differences between Punjabi and Valleysider life styles, coupled with the Punjabis' considerable success in orchard farming and their rapid increase in numbers, has led to problems in social relations, both at the community level, as discussed in the following chpater, and in high school, as detailed later in the report. In spite of the dominant group's negative attitudes about the Punjabi way of life, Punjabi parents continue to instill traditional values in their children. These values have served Punjabis well through many generations and serve them well now in their Valleyside setting. The objections of others to them seems hardly sufficient reason to change. Punjabi parents recognize that there are barriers to their children's success, including prejudice and discrimination, but, they reason, simple conformity to mainstream culture will not necessarily solve these problems and will sacrifice important cultural advantages.

CHAPTER FOUR

SOCIAL RELATIONS--COMMUNITY

Most Valleysiders have little direct contact with Punjabis. Accordingly, most of their views are based on rather distant observation, or hearsay. Some have business dealings with the Punjabi community and a few have a Punjabi co-worker. Contact on social occasions is almost nil. Where it exists, it is with those Punjabis who are the most acculturated to the mainstream American lifestyle, often those whose families have been in America for two or three generations, or those who have professional positions.

One set of Valleyside parents explained Punjabi-Valleysider relations as follows:

> [Mother] I don't think they are part of the Valleyside community. I have never seen Americans, people like us, have social contact, or religious contact, or anything else. The only time I have come in contact with them is at work and you don't socialize.
>
> [Father] At work they do sit in their groups and I guess we sit in ours to a certain extent.
>
> [Mother] I feel like we're indifferent. We don't greet each other, say "hi" when we pass them on the street or anything.
>
> [Father] There is a language barrier. I think the language barrier is the big thing. We don't say "hello." We don't say "goodbye." I think the only time that we do actually greet each other is on a business occasion.

Other Valleysiders reported the same pattern, repeatedly noting, "we don't socialize" or even "I don't actually know any first hand." One

woman observed that "when it comes right down to it, I don't think I have ever talked to one." Contact between the two groups is minimal.

Those Valleysiders who have Punjabi friends, through work or socially, remark positively about the relationship. "I know one girl at work," a Valleysider woman remarked. "She's fantastic. You couldn't ask for a better person." Such comments, however, are rare.

In spite of the limited contact between the two groups, most Valleysiders have observations to share about the Punjabis. In this chapter we examine these observations and the explanations for them. We also report on ethnic relations through Punjabi eyes. The chapter closes with a look at American culture, and Americanization, as seen by both groups.

A. Popular Beliefs

Valleysiders know that Punjabis are peach farmers and that some families have become large landowners. Indeed, there is a feeling that "they have bought up all our land" and that "they are all rich, even though they don't show it." Unable to explain Punjabi success through their own cultural framework, some Valleysiders have pieced together the myth of the "cheap bank loan." The popular belief runs as follows:

> If you got 3 percent interest money, wouldn't you buy all this land and make these investmemts? The American government has this "lend lease" money that they send to India--millions and millions of dollars. India turns around and sends that money back to Canadian banks. These East Indians go to this Canadian bank, withdraw that money for 3 percent interest to buy up all this farm land....It is the money sent over there to develop those poor nations through our federal government.

A second account, also reported by a Valleysider parent, sounded quite similar:

> I've got my information pretty well first hand, but I would never put it in writing. I think if it was checked out, I wouldn't miss it by far. I understand that these people [Punjabis] borrow money. Not too long ago they could go to their country and borrow money at one and a half percent, money which was ours to start with.

While never identical all versions of the story share common elements--money which was "ours" originally has been made available at discounted rates, but only to Indians through special banks.

In reality, Punjabis obtain loans through American banks just like everyone else. Sometimes, too, Punjabis pool their resources to

raise a required down payment, or they may even by-pass banks and other lending institutions by borrowing capital from relatives.

The myth of the "cheap bank loan" expresses the dominant group's animosity toward the Punjabi minority. It serves also to promote a sense of "righteous" hostility toward these new immigrants. Unable to accept the economic success of a group of culturally-distinctive Asian immigrants, Valleysiders prefer to believe that Punjabis have purchased the county's best orchard land through unfair economic competition.

Punjabis are also the butt of ethnic jokes and the subject of numerous stereotypes. While many Valleysiders have never have talked with a Punjabi, most have talked about them. The negative image of Punjabis cuts across all groups of Valleysiders without regard to professional position, family income, education, or years in the area. The more comonly cited stereotypes can be grouped as follows:

. They're terrible drivers, a hazzard on the roads.

. In stores they tear through things, rip open packages, block the aisles, are very loud, and let their children run wild.

. They don't believe in bathing, smell bad, are not very clean, have lice in their hair.

. Basically they're very submissive, shy, with fear in their eyes, frightened.

. They have low moral standards, shoplift, cheat you every chance they get.

. They show no respect for others, don't try to fit in, are demanding and arrogant.

Most collect some sort of welfare.

The causes for these caricatures are complex. Many relate to cultural miscommunication, others to resentment that such a large number of immigrants have moved into the area, and still others to jealousy that Punjabis are economically successful. Those which appear to have any basis in fact tend to become distorted. Driving is a major example of this.

Most Punjabis immigrate to Valleyside direct from rural Punjab where cars are beyond the means or needs of most villagers. Until recently, only the wealthier farmers even had tractors. In sharp contrast, cars are a necessity in Valleyside; everything is spread out and no adequate public transportation exists. Among the first things a Punjabi man must do upon arrival in Valleyside are learn to drive, if he doesn't already know how, and purchase a car. New arrivals,

furthermore, must accustom themselves to the pace of traffic, which is much quicker than in Indian villages, and to the American practice of driving on the right, the reverse of the Indian and British custom. Few women drive in India, or have even spent much time in automobiles. Consequently, learning to drive is much more difficult for them than for persons raised in America, exposed as they are to cars from early childhood.

Punjabi immigrants, both men and women, tend to be defensive, cautious, and slow drivers. Because of their distinctive appearance, furthermore, they tend to stand out on the highway, serving to confirm in the minds of many Valleysiders the "poor driver" image. When Punjabis are involved in traffic accidents, they may also be afraid to speak English, a fact which infuriates mainstream Americans. Punjabis may also be unfamiliar with American customs of determining guilt and assume automatically that if their car is hit by another, the other party is to blame, as is the presumption in India.

By no means, however, are all Punjabis "bad" drivers, or the cause of a disproportionate number of accidents in and around Valleyside. In fact, the Valleyside Police Department could provide no evidence to support the myth of the "bad driver." Although statistics for traffic violations are not summarized by ethnic identity, the strong impression of one officer familiar with department records was that Punjabis are actually underrepresented in the number of traffic citations and arrests, as well as for other types of misdomeaners and crimes.

The other rumors and stereotypes about Punjabis were also found to have little basis in fact. The managers of several stores frequented by Punjabis, for example, flatly refuted the accusations of shoplifting and unruly behavior. Assumptions about Punjabis on welfare are equally unfounded. The Punjabi tendancy is to rely on self and family. Punjabis do collect unemployment, if eligible, and they do participate in the free or reduced lunch program available to their children through the school district. They welcome the health benefits which the Migrant Eduction Program provides their children. Few, however, participate in programs administered by the Department of Welfare. Even though Punjabis constitute some 10 percent of the country's population, only 3 percent of the Medi-Cal recipients are Punjabis and less than 1 percent of those receiving AFDC benefits or food stamps are Punjabis.1/

Popular beliefs--myths and stereotypes such as those reported--live on, as Maccoby and Jacklin (1974:355) point out, regardless of the evidence to the contrary. Behavior inconsistent with one's

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1. Welfare statistics come from the Valleyside County Welfare Office, personal communication, 12/14/81.

expectations is discounted. On the other hand, if any member of the group behaves in the "expected way," or even is reported to have done so, the belief is confirmed. With respect to Punjabi drivers, Valleysiders tend to generalize from the instances they observe, or hear about, in a way reminiscent of the "lady driver" and "black driver" cracks of a few years back. Morover, many Valleysiders find humor in Punjabi comments and jokes. Stories, such as the following, abound, even though the teller knows his tale to be apocryphal:

> You want me to tell you something that I heard? This East Indian bought a trailer, a mobile home. And he put it in cruise control and got up to go to the back to have a rest. Now, I mean, really! [Researcher: "Do you think that's true?"] I think it was true, yes. Put it on cruise control and went to the back.... I thought it was funny; I laughed. But you see, they need to learn those things....They are hazzards on the highway--too close, too slow, too fast, no signals, they just turn....They'll drive a tractor right down the middle of the highway.

Much of the story telling is in jest, but it is tinged with a sense of derogation. "People don't think they're being hostile," reported one Valleysider, "but they really are."

B. Acts of Friendliness

Many Punjabis describe friendly relations with Valleysiders. In response to our request for specific examples of "acts of friendliness," Punjabis tended to remark upon the goodness of their Valleysider neighbors. Such comments as they "helped us when our car wouldn't start," "drove us to the doctor when my child was ill," "looked after our house when we went to Canada," and "keep an eye on my children when I come late from work," were common. From the Punjabi perspective contact with Valleysiders is by no means all negative.

Likewise, several Valleysiders reported good relations with and supportive acts by their Punjabi neighbors:

> I remember their young boy, [when] he was a lot younger,... watered our grass while we were gone for vacation. When we came back to pay him he brought the money back. He said his father said that people should just do each other favors. I thought, my goodness, that was really teaching your child something.

Positive acts by Valleysiders toward Punjabis are not limited to neighbors. One Punjabi reported being driven by a total stranger, a Valleysider, twenty miles back to his home when his car broke down outside of town. Another noted that in offices Valleysiders make an effort to find a Punjabi speaker to assist those limited in English. Some Punjabis say "everyone has been good to us" and "we have never

been treated improperly." One Punjabi went so far as to say that the "whites"2/ treat you better than "even your own brother."

One Punjabi student, in reporting that her aunt's house had had the windows broken out "many times" by intractable Valleysider youths, described how her aunt's Valleysider neighbor, upset by the hostile actions, had collected donations from others on the block to have the windows repaired. Another Punjabi reported his neighbor's shame that some Valleysider boys had deliberately wrecked his lawn with their cars, forcing him to barricade his yard with sawed-off pipes planted in the grass. Acts such as these lend support to the common Punjabi belief that "some are good, some bad." "Some really help you; some abuse you." Punjabis fault individual Valleysiders for their transgressions, but refrain from pointing an accusing finger at all Valleysiders. Just the reverse. They hasten to point out that "not everyone is alike." To refrain from generalization is a Punjabi characteristic.

C. Acts of Hostility

Valleysiders admit that people talk negatively about Punjabis, but few believe Punjabis are actually mistreated. Punjabis cite evidence to the contrary.

> All white people are not alike, but most of the people look at us with an "evil eye" [in a nasty way]. They do not try to help us. There is not much friendliness shown between us. They feel as if we have dropped from space. They try to cause us problems. We do not feel like this at all. If we see a white child, we try to talk to him with friendliness and love. But the whites dislike our children. For example, our next door neighbors break the windows of our cars, flatten the tires, spit on us, and use abusive language.

Another Punjabi shared the feeling that Valleysiders "look at us with

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2. Punjabis commonly refer to members of America's white majority, including Valleysiders, as gore or gori, the Punjabi terms for white men and white women. When speaking English Punjabis usually refer to the majority group as "whites." This racial categorization persists even though Punjabis themselves are Caucasian and harbor bitterness for the Supreme Court decision which distinguished between whites and Caucasians. The second most common label for Valleysiders is the national designation "American." This usage of the term stems from Valleysiders' insistence on referring to themselves as Americans and Punjabis as Punjabis, in spite of the fact that many Punjabis are themselves naturalized citizens, or, increasingly, natives of this country.

an evil eye." He, too, reported his windows broken and his cars splattered with eggs. He was unclear as to the reasons:

> I don't know whether it is because they think we are buying land and houses that there is this prejudice. I don't know much, but there is definately prejudice.

Other hostile actions cited by Punjabi parents included stones thrown at front doors, paint sprayed on cars, food thrown as Punjabis passed by, mailboxes destroyed, name calling, obusive language, and obscene gestures.

Unruly Valleysider youngsters are responsible for most of the hostile actions, but not all. Those instigated by adults, while fewer in number, often have more serious implications. Several Punjabis, for example, were erroneously accused of shoplifting. In one case the problem occurred when a Punjabi returned an item to a local store, but then decided not to exchange it. Although he had shown his receipt to a clerk both on entering and leaving the store, he was nabbed by two Valleysider men without explanation as he and his family got into their car. After insisting that the store clerk corroborate his story, which she did, the men still offered no apology. This man, who had lived for some years in England, was fluent in English and confident in his dealings with the majority community. Unlike many of the new arrivals, he was able to defend his rights. Neither this man, nor another who reported a similar incident, wore turbans. Both were dressed respectably when the incidents occurred. "It's not everyone," one Punjabi woman remarked, but stories such as these, "make all whites look bad."

D. Cultural Miscommunication

Two people can observe the same action, even recall it accurately, but interpret it totally differently. Such frequently is the case when the two are operating from within different cultural frameworks. When Punjabi men avoid eye contact, or refrain from shaking hands with Valleyside women, they are behaving politely from their perspective. They may even avoid all cross-sex conversation, because they have been taught since they were small that such behavior signifies respect for women.

Other areas of difference may be less value laden, but equally irksome to Valleysiders unfamiliar with Punjabi customs. For Valleysiders, as well as most mainstream Americans, shopping generally is a chore, to be completed as rapidly as possible unless, of course, one has the leisure to indulge in a bit of "window shopping." For an Indian a shopping trip may be a family outing and a welcome break from the usual routine. One Valleysider, whose own travels in India provided her some comparative insight, contrasted the two systems, as follows:

> When you shop in India it's a big excursion and you make a day of it. You go in and have tea and you're with your mother-in-law, your cousin, your aunties, and three little children....It's a very social thing to you, as well as a necessary event. Here we are very businesslike. We go to the store, buy the groceries, and we go home.

This same woman went on to note that Punjabis living in Valleyside retained some of the "fun" of a shopping spree.

> Well, you have one car and three families. The ladies go, maybe two children, maybe one man driving, or one of the ladies. [There is an attitude], you know, of we are going to enjoy this outing. Poor ladies, how often do they get away from the ranch or wherever they are. So they are wandering around the aisle and they are looking over here and over there and getting in everybody's way....Some of those ladies only get out [of the house] two times a month. They go to the temple and they go to the grocery store.

By contrast, Valleysiders rarely shop as a family, or in a large group, and find the Punjabi practice annoying.

Other causes of misunderstanding relate to differences between Indian and American styles of shopping. In India one is always able to inspect the merchandize, perhaps even taste the food in an open market before making a purchase. Unable to read English, Punjabi immigrants, therefore, may rip open a package of clothing to judge the size, and the quality, or even sample some of the fresh produce in a grocery store. Punjabis may also be slow to decide among different items, while the salesclerk stands waiting, or they may change their minds about the items desired after the cashier has already rung up the bill. In India a merchant would simply be happy that he could make a sale. Here, however, a checker's job rating may be affected by how many "errors" are recorded on the computerized cash register and any change may constitute an error. Those waiting in line, furthermore, may feel annoyed with the delay, especially if a supervisor must be found to approve the changes. The Punjabi shopper, quite likely limited in his or her command of English, is unable to use the proper phrase of appology to appease the clerk and waiting customers. All of these factors contribute to Valleysider frustrations with Punjabi immigrants and help to justify the negative attitudes of those who are prejudiced.

Language is a mamjor source of misunderstanding. Few Valleysiders speak a language other than English or know first hand the problems of conducting business in a foreign country. Many genuinely believe, albeit naively, that were they to move to India, or some other country, they would rapidly learn the language of that country. They interpret Punjabis' difficulties with English as a lack of

effort. Punjabis know the importance of facility in English. In fact, coming from a country which recognizes fifteen major languages in its consitution and whose population speaks hundreds of different mother tongues, most educated Punjabis are bilingual or trilingual. Those who went to school before partition may even read the three distinct scripts of Punjabi, Hindi, and Urdu.3/ For them English is a fourth language and a fourth script.

For those Punjabis whose schooling was limited, learning to speak English in middle age, as an illiterate, may be very difficult. Learning to read English for them may be next to impossible. Adults with little or no formal education rely on children or other relatives to translate for them and, in situations which appear at all threatening, they may be reluctant even to practice their oral English for fear of making mistakes or being ridiculed. The hostile attitudes of many Valleysiders certainly do not create a climate in which the limited-English-speaking Punjabis feel confortable practicing English.

Outward appearances are another area subject to conflicting interpretation. Punjabis place necessities first, saving second. They are much less concerned than most Valleysiders with changing styles or "keeping up with the Joneses." In fact, one Punjabi farmer chided Valleysider farmers for their faulty priorities:

> What they do is pick woody particles from the fields, or clean up the grass growing around the fields. Or they plan their land so that it looks nice in appearance....For top shape they spend more money, but not for the things which are going to be of [economic] benefit.

Valleysiders, on the other hand, are annoyed when Punjabis keep their lawns a mess, a reflection on the entire neighborhood.

In many areas the Punjabi way is simply not the Valleysider way. This creates resentment among Valleysiders, most of whom assume that Punjabis "should conform." One Valeysider woman contrasted the two lifestyles:

> Their consumables are food. They don't buy that much clothing the way we do. Like we say, "I'm going to a party next weekend, so I have to go get a pair of shoes, get my hair done, my nails done." They don't go to McDonald's and they don't go to Mr. Steak. They don't go to the movies. I think the very main

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3. Spoken versions of the three languages are mutually intelligible. Hindi is the national language. Punjabi is the native language of Punjabis and the oficial language of the state of Punjab. Urdu is the national language of Pakistan and was the major language of comunication and instruction in pre-1947 Punjab.

> objection to them is they don't spend their money. They're making lots, but they're not spending it. I'm sure they do put their money in the bank. But then they do send a lot back to India. They don't buy new cars....They don't do all the traveling and they don't go back and forth to Tahoe. They don't use a lot of gas. They are just not consuming people.

The woman went on to point out that Valleysiders resent the fact that Punjabis appear free to go their own way.

> I have to send this damned kid to dancing school and I've got to take the kid up to the lake. Why are their kids so happy wearing clothes from second hand stores? And you know they've got money becuase they own three peach orchards. Yet here I am having to put on this big show and I really don't have the money to do it.

Even when they see the shortcomings of their own way of life, Valleysiders resent the Punjabis adhering to a different lifestyle. Or perhaps, in part, it is exactly because of the comparisons that Valleysiders become more conscious that their ways may not be best for everyone. This is a discomforting feeling for those who have been raised to feel their ways are "best" and that those who immigrate to America should adopt the majority culture, regardless of its shortcomings.

E. Economic Competition

Those Valleysiders who know anything about Punjabis recognize that they work hard, save what they can, and cooperate in joint business ventures.

> They are very industrious, hard to beat as far as ranching goes. ...The whole family gets out there and when it's irrigation time, you can't catch them at home. They're all out there putting up ditches, irrigating, or pruning. They cut doown their standard of living to make the payment....You give them 40 acres and they get enough credit and enough cash to go out and look for some more [by the next year].

Even well informed Valleysiders, such as this local real estate agent, wonder about the secrets of Punjabi economic success. Others declare the Punjabi system to be un-American because "they put three families to a house" and "I don't have a standard like that." Even though Valleysiders readily admit that they would not want to "skimp" and "slave" like many Punjabi do, they take offense at these Punjabi strategies for getting ahead. They also overlook the fact that most Punjabis earn considerably less than the national median and that they must struggle simply to make ends meet.

Some resentment is based on ignorance, some on cultural miscommunication, but a great deal of it relates to economic competition. Immigrant groups, Valleysiders believe, are supposed to take several generations to work their way up from farm laborers to farm owners and in the process they are supposed to shed their "foreign" culture and adopt the cultural ways of the mainstream majority. One Valleysider commented with respect to the Punjabis: "They'll work for basically nothing and it's unfair competition. The 'Hindu' landowner has a crew working for him." Another remarked that "the 'Hindus' are driving out the guy who has to pay for 'legitimate' labor and wages." To justify their frustration with Punjabi ways, Valleysiders define Punjabi success strategies as "illegitimate."

This country's greatness, all agree, relates to the individual freedoms guaranteed in our constitution and the chance for anyone, regardless of race, creed, nationality, or sex to work hard and get ahead. Immigrants, however, are supposed to pay their dues. One Valleysider observed:

> I think we will always think of them as foreigners and intruders. [Researcher: "Do you think of the Japanese as intruders?"] No, I don't. With them maybe we didn't see the influx. They came during gold rush time didn't they? We brought them over to do things for us. I think we are seeing the East Indians in a different light. We are not seeing them helping us. We are seeing them take from us. We are seeing them buy our land. It took other minorities a much longer time to get a hold.

Few Valleysiders know the history of Punjabi immigration. They simply feel uneasy with their presence and their apparent success.

Punjabis have moved into an economic niche that most mainstream Americans, including Valleysiders, shun--that of farm labor. But farm laborers usually are no economic threat to the dominant group. Punjabis realize that some Valleysiders think of them as "just poor people, having a low standard, just laborers." Punjabis, however, do not accept a subordinate position. By whatever means available they will find a way to improve their situation.

In fairly short order Punjabis have purchased an estimated 50 percent of the county's peach land (La Barck 1982a), plus additional acres of prunes, walnuts, pears, and kiwis. In consequence, some members of the dominant group worry that Punjabis are taking over. "If we don't watch out," they say, Punjabis "are going to control all our farm land." Many Valleysiders, even though they and their children have no interest in farming, are uneasy about the prospect of this important sector of the county's economy being controlled by a minority group whom they little understand.

Some Valleysiders characterize Punjabis as dishonest in business dealings because of customs brought over from India. One well

respected Valleysider businessman explained that in India, as he understood it, "honesty is what you can get away with." Business transactions in India do sometimes require deception and bribery. Survival requires going along with the system. Further, few goods or services have a fixed price. One bargains even over the price of food. In America, Punjabis adapt quite rapidly to their new environment. Indeed, they welcome America's relative lack of corruption and applaud the respect accorded to individuals without regard to their social standing. Deep-rooted Indian habits of bargaining for the proper price and tipping to get service nevertheless crop up and can readily be misunderstood.

While some Valleysiders do not care to have dealings with Punjabis, more welcome Punjabi business. In fact, those who have the closest relationships with Punjabis are generally the most positive. One Valleysider commented:

> We have contact. We are interested in doing business with them. [Researcher: "Have you found them to be good businessmen?"] I have never found them to be any different. It's a fallacy. They want to get the best deal they can, but I don't blame them. I try to get the best deal, too.

Another Valleysider praised the leadership within the Punjabi community and recommended turning to Punjabi leaders should misunderstandings arise.

> I have a lot of contact with them. I am well known amoung the community and I know who I can trust and who I can't trust. There is always a leader. If you have any problem with anyone in that group, all you have to do is contact the leader and he'll straighten it out real fast. These men are great. They are church leaders and they are community leaders....They understand the American way of life and the American way of doing business.

Valleysiders whose livelihood depends in any substantial measure on Punjabi trade are generally positive about Punjabi business dealings.

F. Success Theory Revisited

Both newer immigrants, and the more established, adopt a strategy of ignoring the prejudices of the larger society. (See Gibson, in press; and Ogbu, 1978:24, for similar findings with respect to other immigrant groups.) Newer immigrants feel, at least to a certain extent, that they are "guests" in a foreign land and that they have no choice but to tolerate prejudice and animosity. Punjabis themselves note that it is "their jurisdiction," or "their country" and whatever the "natives" do "you have to accept." Those who are non-English speakers, furthermore, have little ability to "defend" themselves. Even those who have lived for years in the U.S. and speak English

fluently choose, for the most part, to ignore the prejudices of the larger society.

The Sikhs' experience in India has taught them to live with their minority status, and animosity far more violent than that of the Valleysiders. Sikhs have managed to preserve their cultural, linguistic, and religious distinctiveness in India for hundreds of years, even though less than 3 percent of the population. So, too, have they succeeded economically in Africa, Australia, England, and Canada without abandoning their heritage or religious convictions. If there is hardship to overcome or ill will to live with, they live with it. Sikhs, for the most part, are democratic and pluralistic. They have no wish to impose their ways on others, but see no cause to change their ways simply because the majority prefers a different life style.4/

The most prevelant strategies employed by the Valleyside Punjabis when confronted with racial and ethnic animosity are to ignore it, to discount it, and to avoid situations where confrontation may occur. "If I don't do anything to harm anyone," one Punjabi commented,

> then how can anyone harm me. It's mostly teenagers who cause problems, but I have no contact with them. Neither do I have any association with people who drink, or are a bad influence. I dislike this and I will not associate with anyone like that. This is the advice that I give to my sons.

Another Punjabi said that at work, if he disagreed with what people said, he simply kept it to himself. Others commented similarly, saying "if we swear back, what is the point. We will not achieve anything. We will just make matters worse." Or, "why waste your brain arguing about it. Just leave them." Silence is a virtue not only within the family, but also in one's dealings with the larger society.

Punjabis who do respond to racist remarks may try to educate the offender:

> Some white boys were causing a problem in [a Punjabi-owned] store. What they were saying was that our people have come in and taken over all their jobs. I said, "Yes, you are right. Would you like a job?" One boy said, "Yes." So I said, "To everyone else I give $3.50 [an hour], but I will give you $4.00. Come with me and start irrigating." He goes, "Shit, this job!" I said, "You son of a bitch, do we work in the offices? This is the job that I have offered, so take it."

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4. We refer here specifically to Sikhs, rather than Hindu and Muslim Punjabis, because the Sikhs' experience as a religious, cultural, and linguistic minority in India differs from that of the other two groups.

The Punjabi farmer went on to explain to the Valleysider boys how Punjabis are contributing to the United States, not taking from it.

> We have been here for so many years. All we have bought is land. We have never sent back money home. We are using this country's money in this country. Your country is benefiting. What else do you want?

Other Punjabis, when confronted by cracks of "you Hindu" or other unfriendly acts, may explain the differences between Sikhs, Hindus, and Muslims, or explain that Sikhs wear turbans and beards because of their religion. Still others answer with humor, holding up two fingers in response to one.

Only one Punjabi parent commented that harsh words prompt a harsh response. By and large, Punjabis wish "no quarrel with the whites," emphasizing that it is only a few who cause trouble, mostly "hippies," or the "laboring class, because they have worked 20 years and gotten no where," or, undisciplined Valleysider teenagers whose "parents can't control them." Punjabis operate from the premise that "nobody harms a good person" and that one ultimately will be rewarded according to the life he or she leads. Even when fights do break out Punjabis are slow to place all blame on Valleysiders. There are "some bad Punjabis, too," they note.

Some Punjabis feel that Valleysiders may take advantage of them because they "know our own lack of solidarity." Punjabis feel that factionalism was their downfall when the British conquered their kingdom in India. They worry that it may be their downfall in Valleyside also, if they do not stand together. The bickering between leaders of the local Sikh temples is cited as evidence that Punjabis are unable to get along with one another. Strength, they feel, can only come from unity.

Although Valleyside Punjabis generally avoid confrontation with the dominant society, they by no means are afraid to fight. Sikhs were selected by the British above all others in India to serve in the army, both in the ranks and as officers. Still today in independent India Sikhs are overrepresented in the armed forces and distinguished for their superior service. In India, also, Sikhs will not allow themselves to be unfairly put upon and do not shy away from the use of physical force to defend themselves. Force, furthermore, is the common means for dealing with mischievous and unruly youngsters, or even adults who have gotten out of line. In Valleyside, due to their status as immigrants, Punjabis feel restraint is required. If pushed too far, however, in matters involving family honor, their children, or their ability to make a living, Punjabis will insist upon their rights, using whatever means at their disposal. Punjabis are not easily intimidated. Nor do they accept being downtrodden.

First and foremost Punjabis have come to America to take advantage of the opportunities this country affords. This objective shapes their response to their new homeland, both in the economic sphere and in social relations. So long as they are able to pursue and attain their goals by traditional means, they will do so. If, howevever, a change in strategy will be in the family's best interest, they will change. For example, if prunes will yield greater profit than peaches, Punjabis will shift crops. If factory work will return more to the family than farming, they will leave farming. So, too, if their methods of dealing with ethnic contact and conflict no longer are effective, other methods will be adopted. The group's actions are tied to their theory of success.

G. Americanization

Should Punjabi immigrants "Americanize?" What aspects of their culture should Punjabis change, or not change? What do new arrivals need to learn about life in America? Few questions touch Punjabi and Valleysider alike as strongly. Those interviewed welcomed the opportunity to express their beliefs. As they did so, clear patterns of response emerged.

The Valleysider Perspective

A number of Valleysiders noted similarities between the Punjabis and earlier generations of Americans. "I think the Punjabis...are very much like the American pioneers," one woman noted,

> very vigorous and very hard working. I think that is a quality that has made this country strong and has made this a remarkable place in which to live. Punjabis are a very outgoing, confident, democratic group of people. I think they have the same qualities that Americans have in that way....I don't think there is anything we need to make them understand [about life in America].

Other Valleysiders noted similarities between Punjabis and contemporary mainstream Americans, a group whom they label, simply, "Americans." Both groups, they feel, work hard and are independent. Both like to go into business for themselves, determine their own lives, and be held accountable for what they do. Both have strong feelings for family and strong religious beliefs. Indeed, in these very basic respects, the two groups are similar.

When asked to distinguish their way of life from that of the Punjabis, Valleysiders frequently commented on the Punjabis' family orientation and their willingness to help their relatives. One Valleysider noted,

> In the East Indian culture a large family is determined to be a desirable thing because the youngsters are going to support the older people. The more kids you have, the more support you are going to get from them. [We] look at it a little differently. ...Large families are expensive.

Several Valleysiders observed that the pace of life today is so hectic that people don't "have the time to be as kind, as considerate, as neighborly as we were in the past." The Punjabi way of life, these Valleysiders felt, allows more time for others.

This difference between the Punjabi and Valleysider lifestyle was viewed by some as one of America's shortcomings. These Valleysiders would prefer a society where people helped one another more and were less consumed by their individual needs. One woman commented,

> I think in our society...it's kind of a sad thing because people don't trust each other. [Punjabis] build together and stay together. They help each other financially, socially, you name it. But not many [of our] people will give you a hand. Everything is taken for granted.

The pace of life in America, this woman felt, had become too fast; she wanted to slow it down.

Other Valleysiders noted in America today people feel they must compete with one another. Punjabis, some felt, are a little different.

> I think [Punjabis] have a love for one another more so than the 'American' people. We have to keep up with the Joneses. We are prejudiced to our own. But [Punjabis] help each other. I like that, a family that sticks together. I try to tell my boys, you pull apart and you lose everything. When we were growing up, all the neighbors would help. [Now] our people are just competing against this one or that one. [Valleysider parent]

Valleysiders express both a sense of loss for a former way of life and uneasiness with the pressure in America to consume. Most Americans feel they must have "a nice car, a nice house and yard, pretty clothes, and a vacation once a year. If you don't, you are weird."

Indeed, Punjabis are considered weird. They are resented, what's more, for not conforming to the ways of this consumer-oriented, individualistic society. Although some Valleysiders see no need for Punjabis to change and seem comfortable with each group having a different set of values, the majority feels deeply that Punjabis should conform. Not to conform is labeled unpatriotic; for them, commitment to this country is demonstrated by cultural symbols. Valleysiders may drive Japanese cars, but Punjabis must wear "American" clothes.

Punjabi success flies in the face of some basic Valleysider values. To get ahead and stay ahead most Valleysiders, indeed most Americans, have had to conform to the dominant culture. The American notion of the "melting pot" has taken on a disturbing interpretation of one-way change. Only the minorities and the newcomers have to melt. Although this nation and its national character were built upon the strengths of its many groups, some members of America's mainstream majority believe that the newcomers need not and should not contribute to the pot. To urge such a course may produce effects quite opposite to those intended.

Attitudes expressed by some Valleysiders help pinpoint troublesome qualities embedded in American culture. One man, who resented seeing any "Hindu" in the social security office--they shouldn't be eligible--felt that "we have let them get away with so much to the point where we have to accept all their ways and they don't have to accept any of ours." Quite clearly there was no useful addition, as he saw it, that Punjabis could make to America's "melting pot." Punjabis' lack of conformity, furthermore, was interpreted as a forcing of Punjabi ways on others.

Part of the problem stems from a sense of superiority which many mainstream Americans feel. "This nation is the greatest; what can some group of peasant farmers from rural India give to us?" is the attitude of many. The assumption of cultural superiority was expressed by Valleysiders in statements such as "they are learning" (Punjabis are overcoming their ignorance), they are "becoming more advanced" (previously, they were backward), and they "have to progress."

Many Valleysiders feel that since the Punjabis elect to come to America, they should "leave their culture" in India and "accept our way of life," especially if "they're going to reap the profits" from life here. Others note that it is difficult for adults to change. Some Valleysiders have trouble recognizing that their own values and actions are deeply rooted in a cultural system. One woman reported that if she, too, had "a very cultural background," she would try to hold onto it. Lacking both knowledge of any other cultural system and the abiity to look at their own values through others' eyes, many Valleysiders tend to overlook the cultural basis for their way of life. Some assume that if they went to another country, they would readily adopt the ways of that country. Deeply-rooted values, however, are not easily forsaken.

Other Valleysiders say that Punjabis have a right to hold onto their native culture, but that they must also adopt the customs of this country. These Valleysiders tend to seek conformity in areas of visible culture, most especially dress, manners, and use of the English language. A very few feel that Punjabis are "an addition to our culture [nation]" and that they should be allowed to change, or not, as they see fit.

Only one Valleysider expressed the feeling that forced conformity can yield negative results. Indeed, cultural stress can cause psychological damage through loss of positive identity and lead to illnesses associated with anomie. One Punjabi expressed his belief that the heavy drinking of some Valleyside Punjabi males results from this condition. Forced conformity has been shown also to lead to confrontation between the subordinate and dominant groups, ethnic separatism, and the entrapment of a minority group in a lower "caste" status.5/

In general, Valleysiders display a great deal of ambivalence about cultural differences and culture change. On the one hand, they cherish this country's freedom and equality. On the other, they are extremely uneasy about having in their midst a group of people which prefers their lifestyle to that of the majority group.

The Punjabi Perspective

Valleysiders see the visible symbols of the Punjabi culture--turbans, beards, dress, language, family groupings, Sikh temples--but few understand their meaning or have had opportunity to know the deeper structure of the cultural system. The same holds true for many Punjabis with regard to Valleysider culture. They see the outward symbols but may not be privy to their meaning. Both groups tend to be ethnocentric, finding strength in the superiority of their ways. A sense that one's ways are best is valuable to the degree that it builds a positive sense of identity. When one denies another the right to his or her way of life, however, as many Valleysiders do, or finds fault with another's ways without understanding their meaning, as both groups do, ethnocentric attitudes are harmful.

While slow to generalize about Valleysiders, and careful not to blame all white Americans for the actions of a few, Punjabis show no similar reticence in speaking out against many aspects of mainstream American culture. The weaknesses, from the Punjabi perspective, relate to use of money, attitudes about work, social relations, sexual propriety, and family.

With respect to money, Punjabis find Valleysiders extraordinarily wasteful. They make unnecessary expenditures for clothes, entertainment, and restaurants, and they set up many seperate households, when a single house would be far less expensive to maintain. They spend

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5. Schermerhorn (1970) analyzes how the structural relationships between groups tend to result in assimilation or segregation, within a framework of either integration or conflict. The implications of Schermerhorn's analysis for educational policy are examined by R. Paulston (1976) in his study of ethnic revival and educational conflict in Sweden.

dollars to keep their orchards looking attractive and they hire others to work for them while family members sit at home. Valleysiders, moreover, rely on credit for even small purchases, spend beyond their means, and save little to carry them through hard times. Some Punjabis note that there is nothing wrong with the American way, it is their money to spend as they like, but "we can't afford to be like them."

Regarding work and jobs, Punjabis see Valleysiders on welfare who could pick peaches. Those who will take jobs as farm laborers, some Punjabis observe, wait for the unemployment office to get them work, rather than actively seeking work themselves by going directly to farmers to ask for employment. Some Punjabis say Valleysiders are hard workers, but others comment that "they are soft." The feeling is that Valleysiders could use the same strategies pursued by Punjabis to get ahead, but they don't.

Punjabis are perturbed by the dress of many Valleysider girls and young women. From the Punjabi perspective, anyone in short shorts or a bikini is indecent. It simply is not respectful to show one's body in public. Equally offensive to Punjabis is any display of sexual intimacy. Punjabis of all ages are embarrassed by public signs of affection.

Punjabis also find the pace of life in this country too fast. People simply do not take time with one another. Everyone goes his or her own way, with no time to assist each other, or even to stop and relax together. This pattern at the family level is especially upsetting to Punjabis. As they see it, every member of the mainstream American family pursues his or her own interests without regard for the total group. Old folks are left on their own with only small pensions for support. Some die with no family around. The next generation is too busy with their own concerns, husbands and wives each going their own direction. Children receive too little supervision and are permitted to wander about creating mischief. Parents may not even know where their children are or what they are doing. Older children may even live separate from their parents. Some mainstream parents seem eager for their offspring to leave home; a few actually push them out. Husbands and wives do not even stay together. Punjabis are profoundly troubled by the prevalence of divorce in America.

Most Valleyside Punjabis equate American culture with the way of life of Valleysiders in particular and white, middle class America in general. They judge harshly those fellow countrymen whom they feel have become "like the Americans." An Americanized Punjabi "does not listen to anyone, does everything as he pleases, the way the Americans do." To a Punjabi this simply "is not right." "Something has happened to [their] heart," the more traditional Punjabis say. Sanctions against one who "Americanizes" can be severe; an individual can be ostracized from family and community. There are Punjabis living in

Valleyside who have embraced many aspects of the mainstream culture, but they are a minority; some have been cut off from the larger Punjabi community.6/

Attitudes about Culture Change

Although the large majority of Valleyside Punjabis share a strong, negative attitude about Americanization, as they define it, their perspectives on culture change and adaptation are more mixed. Change, per se, is not wrong, and a certain amount of adaptation in any new environment is to be expected.

Punjabis see much to praise about their adopted country, and those qualitites that they view as good are to be embraced. As one man noted, "we should adopt "the nice things." This man went on to cite American attitudes regarding "the dignity of labor" as far superior to the Indian fear that one who works will be "classed as inferior." American attituteds about work, he believed, are a key to this country's success. Another Punjabi praised Americans for "telling the truth." He felt Indians "are not precise. They might say yes, when they actually mean no." Culture contact, from his perspective, provides the chance for all groups to learn from one another, "so that we become better people." The clear implication of this man's statement is that Valleysiders, too, have something to learn from Punjabis. "The whites," he noted, "should realize that every culture has good and bad things" about it.

Quite a few Punjabis feel that a certain amount of change is required simply to get along with the majority group. "In Rome, do as the Romans," several said. "Eat what pleases your mind, but dress what pleases the people" of the country you live in, another commented.

Some Punjabis observed that change is the necessary price for respect and acceptance in Valleyside. Punjabis should live like "white people," one woman said, because if they don't, "then the whites don't like them." Some types of change are forced upon them by the dominant group. Another woman noted that conformity in dress is a prerequisite to mixing with the mainstream.

> Really we don't want to change our culture, [but we] have to mix in with the majority group. We get teased by the whites. So because of these difficulties, we have to change our dress.

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6. Punjabis who have lived in urban areas in India, or who live in urban areas in the United States, do not necessarily fit the cultural patterns described throughout this report.

Still another noted that conflict could erupt if Punjabis insist on maintaining their ways.

> We need to change a little. If we don't change, there will be racial fights and we will end up in jail ruining our own lives.

Punjabis recognize that their maintenance of traditional ways provokes negative comments from the mainstream.

Although Punjabis say they must "project a good image," they believe that adherence to their culture is a private matter. Coercion on private matters rankles deeply. Punjabis believe in live and let live.

> People...should not look at us with hatred if we are wearing something different. They can wear whatever they like....We don't like some of the things they wear....Mema [white women] wear shorts all the time....You should be able to wear what the heart pleases. There should not be pressures put on anyone, if they don't want to change.

Tolerance of cultural differences is the Punjabi ideal.

The intolerance of many mainstream Americans may bring about a certain amount of culture change, but most Punjabis feel strongly that they should endeavor to retain the positive qualities of their Punjabi Sikh tradition, regardless of the feelings of the larger society. The right to maintain their Sikh religion, and attendent values regarding such matters as unshorn hair, is fundamental, Punjabis assert. They look askance at the work of missionaries who attempt to convert Sikhs to Christianity. Christian missionaries, of course, have been active in India for centuries, and, in fact, evangelicals are active today in Valleyside. One Punjabi man expressed quite vehemently his desire to practice his own religion.

> Punjabis should not change their culture or their religion [or] their way of life....Like the whites practice their own religion, the Punjabis should do the same. You [addressing the interviewer] write this down. You should keep your religion.

Many Sikhs, like this man, have strong religious convictions and insist upon their right to religious freedom.

Punjabis also wish to preserve customs relating to marriage, child rearing, sense of family, and the brotherhood of man. "We should maintain [our] moral standards, treat everyone like brother and sister, not...be prejudiced against anyone," one Punjabi stated firmly. Another Punjabi couple mentioned that children must continue to "respect the elders," to "live with respect," upholding the family honor and related Punjabi values. The perceived weaknesses of American culture, Punjabis note with great feeling, must be avoided.

Children, for example, must not have "too much freedom," which is to say, they must not be left on their own without appropriate parental supervision. Nor should boys and girls be permitted to run around together, as Valleysider teenagers do. They should be kept "away from evil deeds," furthermore, "like singing and dances."7/ More importantly, children must not be taught to "become independent and live alone," as Valleysider youngsters are taught.

"Our ways are best for us" is a common feeling among Punjabi parents. Some feel, moreover, that cetain types of culture change will prove ruinous. "If we live like them," one father noted, "we will not survive." "We should stay with our Gurus," another said, because if we "copy" Valleysiders we "will only suffer later on." His basic feeling was that even if Punjabis conform to the majority culture, "whites" still will not wish to "mix" with Punjabis. Many Punjabi parents clearly believe that efforts to replace their way of life with that of the mainstream will yield negative results. Some note, furthermore, that there are "some things which we cannot change."

Punjabis who try to follow mainstream ways will end up hanging in the middle. The feeling is that they will neither be able to compete with members of the dominant group, nor will they be able to return to their old values and way of life. When older Punjabis see the younger generation trying to conform to Valleysider ways, "they mock and laugh at them," one parent noted. There is a feeling that in changing Punjabis will sacrifice their character.

Punjabi children are attracted to many aspects of the mainstream culture, a disturbing reality in the minds of most parents. Parents worry about their children's future and fear that they will sacrifice their Indian heritage without fully understanding the value of what they are losing. Parents naturally wish to pass on to their children tried and true Punjabi values and traditions. Punjabis have come to America so that their children may have better opportunities, but worry that in pursuing these opportunities their identity as Punjabis may be sacrificed.

H. Summary and Discussion

Both cultural and structural factors shape students' performance in school. To understand the school success patterns of a particular

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7. Attitudes against song and dance stem from village India where no respectable person would participate in such activities. The pattern is quite different among the more educated classes in the urban areas, where parents may wish their children to study classical Indian music and dancing and where Western music has gained popularity among India's youth.

minority group we must analyze both the cultural tradition of that group vis-a-vis the cultural system of the schools they attend, and the relationship of that group to the dominant group in the society in which they reside. We have looked here at both the reactions of the Valleysider majority to the Punjabi minority and the Punjabi response to that reaction.

The Punjabis in Valleyside face strong prejudice from the Valleysider mainstream because of their desire to preserve many aspects of a traditional Punjabi life style. While examples of positive relations between Punjabis and Valleysiders were cited by a number of informants, many more examples of prejudiced attitudes and hostile actions were forthcoming. Ignorance and cultural miscommunication, combined with a general uneasiness about cultural differences, cause much of the Valleysider prejudice. The fear of economic competition and the assumption that immigrants should "Americanize" also underlie Valleysider animosity.

Valleysiders, like many members of America's mainstream, equate American culture with the ways of America's white, middle class majority, ignoring the many sub-cultures which exist within the nation. While maintaining that the greatness of this country stems from its protection of individual freedoms and its economic opportunity, Valleysiders react negatively both to the Punjabis' life style and to their success in orchard farming. Some Valleysiders believe so strongly that Punjabis ought to adopt mainstream ways that they view the maintenance of Punjabi customs as tantamount to "un-American" behavior.

The inconsistency between their belief in freedom and equality and their actual racist and conformist behavior passes many Valleysiders unnoticed. Hsu (1972) discusses this inconsistency in his analysis of the American concept of self-reliance. Other Valleysiders note that resentment against the Punjabis stems from the very fact that they themselves acquiesce to conformist pressures, while Punjabis seem not to. Only a small minority suggest that Punjabis have every right to elect their own way of life; even fewer note that Punjabis have something to contribute to America and American culture, by way of their very differences, or that forced conformity can result in psychological damage, as well as ethnic conflict.

Punjabis, for their part, search for a middle ground, adapting to their new surroundings while endeavoring also to maintain many of their traditional ways. Most try to ignore the negative attitudes of the mainstream and to avoid situations which may lead to conflict. In spite of the prejudice which surrounds them, most are positive about life in America and Valleyside. They worry, however, about the pressure placed on their children to adopt the customs and values of the Valleysider majority. The result, they fear, will be a child rooted firmly in neither culture and accepted fully by neither group. These concerns influence the ways in which Punjabi parents bring up their children in Valleyside.

CHAPTER FIVE

GROWING UP IN VALLEYSIDE

Beliefs about adult roles shape the values and skills that parents seek to transmit to their children. Like all parents, Punjabis and Valleysiders want their offspring to become successful adults. We have seen, however, that the Punjabi view of family, and the individual's rights and responsibilities therein, varies in some significant ways from the Valleysider view. Most Valleysiders raise their children to establish their own independent nuclear families, physically and economically distinct from their parents', while most Punjabis raise their children to fulfill roles in joint extended families, to remain, that is to say, both physically and economically within a larger family structure. This contrast provides the focus for our discussion of child rearing.

Both Valleysider and Punjabi parents value "self-reliance," and hope their children, as adults, will be able to count on themselves without being a burden to others. Both emphasize taking up one's responsibilities gradually. Valleysiders wonder, however, if most parents prepare children adequately to be on their own by the time they go away to college or take up full-time employment. This time comes after high school for some, after two years of junior college for others. One mother contrasted her approach with those whom she felt over-protected their offspring.

> We have given them...responsibility to make their decisions, with guidance, not unlimited responsibility, but from the time they were three...having responsibility at the level at which we felt they could handle it. Now they can accept it. I don't think most families do that. I think most families try to control too much and then all of a sudden at the college level, when the little one is gone, they don't know how to take care of themselves.

Valleysiders assume that their children will eventually become independent from them. The parents' role is to prepare the child for this day. The Punjabi perspective is somewhat different. While they train their children to "stand on their own feet," and to be no burden, they are taught to do this as part of their responsibilities within the family group. These two perspectives influence many aspects of child rearing.

A. Valleysider Perspectives

Throughout the interviews Valleysider parents emphasized the importance of preparing children to be on their own. They assumed that young people, by the time they finish school, should be able to take care of themselves, without dependence on their parents. One mother commented: "You can't say, 'hey, Mom's just down the street.' I don't want them to think that. I want them to think, I can do it. I can make it." Another mother said with pride of her children, "They don't depend on me or their dad....They just do it on their own."

Some Valleysiders note that their 17 and 18 year-old children still depend on them and are not yet ready to be fully responsible for themselves. Parents recognize that the prospect of independence can be a bit scary. Some worry because their children seem slow to take up appropriate responsibilities, preferring instead to rely on their parents for support and care. Several boys in the study sample, for example, were living at home, but not working or attending school. In discussing his son's future plans, one father noted:

> He doesn't want to do anything. He'd rather just sit back and...do nothing. But that is about over. Either go out and do something or get out....That puts the burden on him, to find someplace to live or find someone else to support him. He thinks I'm being cruel, but it's for his best [interest]...and he will realize it.

Valleysiders express concern about children who continue to be dependent even as they near adulthood. At 18, or thereabouts, a child is expected to care for himself or herself. If children cannot be encouraged to take up adult responsibilities while living at home, parents may eventually consider pushing them out of the house. Certain children need such a jolt to force them to pull their own weight.

Independent Decision Making

Training in decision making, Valleysiders feel, helps prepare young people for independence. Valleysiders encourage even very small children to make decisions and to take responsibility for their actions. Parents may give children options, then help them to analyze each alternative. While their children were still young, Valleysiders

note, there were many areas where they, as parents, simply had to make the decisons, but as children near their eighteenth birthday, many parents feel they no longer can or should tell them what to do. By the end of high school most Valleysiders see their parental role as reduced largely to that of loving and concerned advisor.

> [Our son] is 18 now and all I can do is recommend. He has to make the final decision. You point out the options, but you can't decide for them. We're here for advice.

Valleysiders recognize that at age 18 their children are adults in the eyes of the law and will be held accountable for their actions.

Even if parents disagree with their children's plans, they usually will not stand in their way. "That's apron-string tying," one mother said, and "I don't believe in that." She went on to say, "It's not that I'm not interested. I'm not pushing him out of the nest. But I stand back and let them decide what they want to do." Another parent, a father, said much the same thing about his son:

> Right now I would encourage him to stay where he could have some guidance, because I think even at 18 he has some things to learn. But I wouldn't hold him back. I would explain to him that he has to make his own decision because he has to live by it.

This father was pleased that his son still came to him to discuss his problems, but admitted that the boy quite often did not follow his advice.

Parents of girls respond no differently. Girls, too, are encouraged to make decisions for themselves and take full responsibility for their actions. Commenting on her daughter's maturity one mother noted with obvious pride that her girl "takes charge of her life very well." Another observed that her daughter was old enough to know the difference betwen right and wrong and to act upon her convictions:

> Let them make their own decisions. But...I want them to be responsible and old enough to know and to try and make a halfway right decision. And just because Joe Doe does something, that doesn't mean that they have to....Be strong enough to stand on your own two feet, and say, "No!"

Valleysiders feel they cannot protect their children from all temptation or difficulty. Rather, they must teach them to make wise decisions and to learn, when necessary, from their mistakes.

Open communication between child and parent is an important aspect of the decision-making process. All children need an adult to turn to for support when they encounter problems that they cannot handle on their own. If young people do not openly express their feelings or share their problems, some Valleysider parents will worry.

More important than agreement between parent and child, many Valleysiders believe, is a climate of respect for one another's ideas and feelings.

As long as their children live at home, Valleysider parents are in charge, but their goal is to prepare children for being on their own. Training for independence and self-reliance affects many areas of the child's experiences, including social life, employment, family responsibilities, and even religious training.

Social Activities

Valleysiders are pleased when their children have many friends and are busy with outside activities. One of the reasons cited for favoring Valleyside as a place to live is that parents have comparatively few worries about their children encountering trouble when off on their own. From quite an early age children invite friends over to their house. When the child is small, arrangements are made by the parents. As the child grows older he or she takes more responsibility for social arrangements. Many parents encourage children to bring friends home. This allows them to know their children's friends and to keep in touch with their interests and activities.

One mother spoke with pleasure of a recent party her daughter gave at home. The young people, she commented, obviously enjoyed themselves singing songs and making popcorn. That's "the kind of good fun I had when I was a kid....That interaction I really like," she noted. Other parents also reported enjoying their teenagers' friends and parties, although some said they grew weary from having constant hordes of young people under foot. "My house is like a hotel," one mother observed. She had recently reminded her daughter that she was not running a "resort." Nonetheless, she appeared pleased that even her married children, and their friends, constantly dropped by to socialize.

There is less consensus among Valleysider parents about when to allow children's friends to spend the night. Some are against it. Some say it's alright "as long as they follow the same rules that my kids follow,...the same courtesies, the same respects." Others were even more casual about it. One father reported that "many a night I have [returned home] and tripped over someone sleeping in our front room. I encourage it."

Valleysiders, for the most part, are equally enthusiastic about their children going to friends' homes, using the phone to plan social engagements, and going out on their own to participate in their social activities. Many Valleysider boys enjoy hunting, fishing, and camping. They also enjoy sports, movies, parties, and doing things with girl friends. Girls, too, enjoy sports, parties, and activities

with friends, including boy friends. Quite a few also mentioned reading and church when enumerating the activities they enjoy.

Some Valleysiders have rules about when a child can begin dating. Others discourage their teenage children from "going steady." None, however, questions the appropriateness of young people enjoying the company of the opposite sex. It is simply taken for granted that boys and girls during adolescence will begin to take a strong interest in one another. Experience gained in these years helps young people judge what type of person they later will wish to marry. Too, it helps them learn to relate to one another in what Valleysiders believe is an open and healthy fashion. Many Valleysider high school students have close friends of the opposite sex who are simply friends. No romance is involved.

When young people are out with friends, parents want to know where they are going, with whom, and when they plan to return. Some Valleysiders are very strict about these expectations, others more casual. Some set curfews, generally more lenient on weekends than week nights. Some want their children to leave a phone number where they can be reached in case of emergency and to call if their plans change. Others only let their children go out with friends whom they know and respect. A few limit the number of nights during the week a child may be out. In general, though, parents hope that they have raised their children to make responsible decisions with respect to their social activities. Quite a few Valleysiders feel that they are perhaps more strict than other parents. Most feel that some other Valleysider parents are definitely too permissive. Some expressed concern that their teenager had fallen in with a "bad crowd." In such cases the parent usually had intervened and counseled the child with respect to the company he or she should keep.

Parents want their children to have a good time. Young people, they feel, should enjoy themselves during these years before they take up full adult duties. They must also learn to be responsible for their actions. Jobs for teenagers, as well as their social life, are thought to prepare youngsters for self-reliance.

Jobs for Teenagers

Two thirds of the Valleysider students in our sample held jobs during their senior year in high school. All but one of the remaining third had worked previously. Both parents and students concurred on the importance of jobs for teenagers. For many, the value quite simply was the pay check. Most of the young people earned between $50 and $100 per week. Wages provided cash to cover their expenses and also contributed to savings. Only one in ten girls spent all her earnings, compared with one in three boys, even though the boys tended to work longer hours and hence had larger pay checks. Clothes, cars, food purchased in restaurants, and money for other social activities

are the major expenditures. Some parents are both willing and able to finance all their children's expenses, but most expect the child to pay for "extras."

Valleysiders also value employment for teeenagers because they feel jobs teach young people responsibility, initiative, the ability to get along with others, and the sense that they can make it on their own. A few feel that jobs during the school year place too much of a burden on a child and that employment should be confined to vacations. Others permit their children to hold jobs providing that they maintain their grades. Some parents, while not blocking their child from working, feel that such typical jobs as making hamburgers in a fast food chain have little merit and that employers often take unfair advantage of their teenage help. No Valleysider parents suggested that the hours spent on jobs should be devoted instead to school work.

Most Valleysiders, whether or not their children have jobs during the school year, want their youngsters to learn to be responsible about money. By the time they begin work, usually around age sixteen, most Valleysider youths are expected to maintain their own checking accounts. In addition, many parents discuss the cost of running the household with their children. Valleysiders want their children to be prepared to manage their own affairs and run their own houses or apartments. Few believe their teenagers really understand the cost of living. It's hard for children to know all the expenses which must be budgeted, one parent explained, while they are still living at home.

Family Responsibilities

The money which Valleysider children earn is theirs to use and to save. Their parents do not expect them to contribute financially to the running of the household. In only a few cases did a Valleysider child help pay for "basics." One girl, for example, paid her own dentist bills. By and large Valleysiders do not want children to contribute to household finances. Their children "owe" them nothing, they say, beyond their respect and helping to keep the house and yard in order. While many of the tasks performed at home are sex specific--boys work in the yard, girls in the kitchen--a number of parents point out with obvious pride that their sons can wash, iron, cook, and clean. Some young people have regular chores at home which require daily attention. Others contribute only when they have time, or when their parents push them to help out.

Religious Training

Quite a few Valleysider young people spend considerable time in church activities. Over a fifth of the boys and almost two fifths of the girls are involved in some church function at least once a week. Half of the girls and a third of the boys attend church at least once

a month. Most go to the same church as their parents, but some parents have encouraged their children to choose for themselves, to join the church they feel is best for them, and to feel free to be independent of their parents in this regard. About a quarter of the Valleysider families sampled were Roman Catholics. Several were Pentacostals, several Mormons, several had no church affiliation, and the remainder were members of various major Protestant denominations.

A number of Valleysiders felt that the church had played an important role in their children's upbringing, especially in the area of teaching Christian values. The church. parents noted, reinforces values which are taught at home. Even those Valleysiders who themselves were not involved with any church viewed religion as a positive influence; several were pleased that their children had joined a church and had become active in its affairs.

On Their Own

"On their own" is a phrase used frequently by Valleysider parents in conversations about child rearing. Most Valleysiders feel a responsibility to prepare children for life on their own. While much concerned about their children's future success and happiness, Valleysider parents feel that the ultimate choice about such matters as career, marriage partner, and place to live must be the child's. Parents have endeavored to educate their children to make these difficult choices. With respect to marriage parents note that "love, trust, and understanding are what holds a marriage together." Moral decency and mutual respect are also considered important, as are mutual interests, education, and, for the man, a good job.

Many Valleysiders expressed the hope that their children would postpone marriage until after they had finished their education, were more mature, and had the security of full-time employment. When "you're more grown up, you can take the ups and downs of marriage a little better," one parent observed. Parents of college-bound students also noted the difficulties of concentrating on one's studies if, at the same time, one were beginning a marriage and, possibly, a family. A few of the Valleysider students in our sample of high school seniors were, nevertheless, already engaged, or were seriously involved with someone whom they quite likely would marry. Most, however, felt they were not yet ready for marriage and preferred to wait until they were in their twenties.

With respect to career choice Valleysiders feel it is the child's life and he or she must select work which will be of interest. Parents would prefer their children to work and live nearby, but they recognize that better employment opportunities exist outside of Valleyside. As in all other areas, Valleysiders do not wish to stand in the way of their children's future. Parents will provide counsel and

support in the decision-making process, but responsibility for the decisions, they feel, must rest with the child.

No theme is more prominent in the Valleysider interviews than "on your own." Parents raise it; their children raise it; males raise it; females raise it. They often bring the subject up seemingly gratuitously, in response to questions which have no direct bearing on it. One mother, for example, insisted on telling her interviewer how important it was for her daughters to be able to make it "on their own." She emphasized the importance of raising girls, as well as boys, to become independent and self-sufficient, and said she would be "satisfied" with having done her job when she knew her girls could "take care of themselves, with nobody else." Marriage for this parent, was "not a particularly important goal." Rather, she said,

> what is important to me is that [my daughters] be self-sufficient, because I am afraid for them to be dependent on anyone else....There is no other person that is reliable, only themselves to take care of themselves.

This mother went on to say that for women to be dependent on men is a "frightening thing" because women can then "be abused in all kinds of ways."

Not all parents express their feelings as strongly on this point. Several, in fact, all parents of sons, commented that there is too much emphasis in American society today on readying children to be on their own. One father noted that he still goes to his parents "for counseling" and expects his grown children to do the same. "To say, 'well, you have reached the end of the rope' when you are 18 years old and 'you are own your own'...will never occur [in my household]," he stated. Two fathers complained about the messages their sons were picking up at school about "their rights," and the feeling that they could do as they pleased. Both felt parental authority at home was being undermined by the high school. One worried that his son wanted all the freedom but none of the responsibilities.

Although a minority of Valleysider parents believe that the pendulum has swung too far toward responsibility for self over group, many, especially parents of girls, stress the necessity of women being able to support themselves and, if necessary, their families. It will be up to their daughter, they say, whether or not she will maintain a career, while also raising a family. They want her to be prepared, however, to make it on her own and to feel confident in her ability to earn a good living.

B. Punjabi Perspectives

Valleysider parents tend to feel that their primary responsibilities for parenting end when their children reach 18, or, in the

case of financial support, when their children finish college. Punjabis parents, too, expect their children to become economically self-sufficient around 18 years of age, or when they finish with their education, but they do not assume that their children will leave home at this point. Nor do they see, as a matter of course, that their major role ends at this point in time. Punjabis look instead to marriage as the real turning point in their children's lives. Although they believe their responsibility as parents never ceases, they generally feel that they have achieved every parent's major objective when they see their children well married. After marriage Punjabi young people have increased freedom, and responsibility, to make decisions for themselves. Out of respect, however, and in deference to their parents' knowledge and experience, Punjabis continue even after marriage to involve elder family members in any important decisions.

Decision Making

As a part of all comparative interviews with parents, we asked, regarding their child, a high school senior, "What do you teach your child with respect to taking responsibility, working to help the family group, becoming self-reliant, and making decisions independently?" Valleysiders had much to say about all topics, except "helping the family group." Many, in fact, were unsure of the meaning of this phrase and the underlying purpose of the inquiry. They responded, for the most part, simply that children had various chores to carry out. Beyond that, they said little, other than that they did not expect any economic contribution from their children. Punjabi parents had much more to say about instructing youth on family obligations. Punjabi parents had no trouble understanding the phrase "helping the family group." They had less to say, however, than Valleysider parents about independent decision making. What they did say was generally in opposition to children making decisions on their own.

Punjabi parents expect to be consulted for all but minor decisions, like, for example, a boy deciding whether or not "to go and play soccer." The line between minor and major varies in accordance with the child's age and sex, but in general, decision making is a joint process. This maintains family unity. Equally important, it enables the parents to keep their children out of harm's way and to be sure that they act with benefit of their elders' experience. Decisions about going out with friends in the evening or the use of money are examples, one father noted, of areas where he expected his son to seek parental agreement. Another father said quite simply that he had never encouraged independent decision making, and that his sons had never done so. "Whatever they do, they ask and then do it. They ask whether they can go or not." Yet another noted of his sons that "while they are young it is my responsibility." After "they have studied" and "after marriage it is their own responsibility." Several parents observed that it depends on the child. If the child is

intelligent and "is making the right decision, then he should be given full freedom," one father commented. Even in such cases parents wish to be consulted.

With respect to their daughters Punjabis felt, typically, that parents should make the decisions. One parent pointed our that "It's the parents'...responsibiity to advise the child. She does what...we adivse her to do. Not that she would make her own decisions." Other Punjabis commented that their daughters should consult them "first before making any decision." One parent noted that "if we feel she has made the right decision, we support her. If not, we try to explain to her what is right." Although Punjabi parents themselves tend to think that they treat sons and daughters equally with respect to decision making, many Punjabi young people point out that boys, traditionally, are given more opportunity than girls to make independent decisions. Some observe that "girls are never encouraged to make decisions for themselves."

Two of the strongest statements about decision making were made by parents of twelfth grade girls, but the comments were intended to refer to their sons as well. One said quite vehemently:

> No, we don't want them to be independent. Modern is OK, but they're still our responsibility until they get married. The child doesn't have any experience. What does he know. The parents know what life is, what problems you will have.

This mother felt that, due to their maturity and experience, parents can make better decisions for their children than children can for themselves.

The second parent, a father, contrasted his beliefs regarding the parent's role with what he perceived to be typical of mainstream American parents:

> American people...don't want to spend any money on their kids and they try to kick them out. [Researcher: "It is true that when we do the interviews of the non-Punjabi parents and ask them, 'What do you want for your child?,' they say 'He is 18 now. It is up to him.'] You see! That's what I don't want....That means they are ruining their kids. They are not making the right life for the kids. NO, NO. The poor kid. They have no sense, what to do, where to go, or who to meet. We were talking a...minute ago about that, that it is a bad stage, you know, 16, 17, 18....I don't want to ruin their life. No! I tell them, "Do this, it is better. Do that, no good." So they listen, too.

Most Punjabi parents feel that they can make better decisions than their children and that it is their responsibility as parents to do so. The children will learn by example and, when mature, will then be able to make good decisions for themselves.

Not all Punjabis agree with this approach. Some encourage children to shoulder responsibility for decision making as soon as they are able. One parent expressed his belief that children's ideas deserve more respect than they often receive.

> We are very arrogant. We want our children to be educated, but a lot times we don't take notice of what they have to say. Sometimes, if the child's advice is better than ours, we feel that "he was born after us, but he is giving us advice?" We don't respect his decision making.

This father also observed that many "whites" encourage children to learn through experience, even if at times a child follows the wrong path.

> They guide their children so that they don't go the wrong way, but they feel that if he has taken a wrong journey and suffered...,then he will...have experienced something by making this mistake.

Punjabis, he noted, are less inclined to relinquish their control over many aspects of decision making.

> We don't let our children do this....We want to be more bossy over our children. Like what we say is right, and whatever the children say is wrong....We should consult them...but [Punjabi parents] will never do this....Our people will not even say "right," if something is right.

Clearly there is variation not only with respect to sex and age, but from household to household. Few Punjabi parents, however, seem to feel, as many Valleysiders do, that the path to self-reliance is through independent decision making and risk taking.

Caring for Children

"All children are the house of mischief," according to many Punjabi parents. Since one can assume that, given the opportunity, children will behave in mischievous ways, the parents' job is to prevent their children from getting into trouble. One father explained his role by the following analogy:

> Do you know what a ramba [small spade used for digging the grass] is? If it is beaten1/ with a hammer, then it works a lot better. The same applies to boys. They should be in your control. If a boy, or a girl, is given his freedom, he will never come under

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1. Molded into the desired shape.

> your control. If you haven't controlled your children for 11 or 12 years, then how are you going to start controlling them?

To maintain their authority Punjabis feel they must keep a careful watch over their children and insist on strict discipline. If parents relinquish control when children are small, Punjabis say, they will never reestablish their authority over their children as teenagers.

Children who are permitted too much independence tend to become "spoiled," Punjabi parents explain. Spoiled children are those who want their own way; they no long listen to those who are older and wiser, or show them proper respect. A spoiled boy, for example, mixes with the opposite sex, drinks beer, and wanders about aimlessly in search of excitement. As children can become spoiled only if their parents are not paying close attention to their actions, Punjabis prefer to keep children at home, where they know exactly what they are doing. This is especially true with adolescent girls.

Children are taught from an early age that it is their responsibility to maintain the family's reputation. While the actions of any family member may damage the family's good name, it is the girls' behavior that can most readily bring disgrace. "All our respect is in their hands" is a common Punjabi saying. Referring to his daughter, one man said, "We think of our girls as the main respect symbol. If she stepped out of the house, went out to play, [was seen] sitting with other girls, it is a sign of losing respect. It is how it is seen by everyone." Another father commented,

> I don't want a [driver's] license for the girl. I don't like it. I don't want to see my young girl go up there [to the library] and someone [a girl friend] picks her up and they go here and there, fooling around. I don't like to see that. So I take her myself.

This man has no qualms about his sons driving themselves. He expects them to ask his permission before going somewhere on their own but, if he judges the request appropriate, they are allowed to go.

The two fathers quoted above may be somewhat stricter than others, but all Punjabis recognize that a girl's behavior influences the way people judge the entire family. Gossip about one's daughter is a serious embarrassment; it can damage family honor within the Punjabi community. If a girl, for example,2/ wears skirts or makeup, cuts her hair, or behaves in a disrespectful manner, or, worse still,

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2. There is variation within the Valleyside Punjabi community with regard to what constitutes proper behavior for a teenage girl. The values described here, however, are shared by many in our interview sample.

is seen with a boy, "everyone talks." Such behavior can even have a negative impact on marriage arrangements, not only for the girl in question, but for her unmarried sisters and brothers. Punjabis consider carefully a family's character before arranging a marriage.

Even after marriage a young woman's actions reflect on her family. One father pointed out that, at the time of her wedding, a girl should have all the skills needed to run a house. If she doesn't, he said, "people will only refer back to us that we didn't teach her." The reverse is also true. If a child "walks the good path" and "does a good job" people will refer to the parents with respect, as well as to the child. A young man's actions, too, both positive and negative, will reflect on his family, but in a different way.

Activities with Friends

The comparative interviews included a number of questions about children going out with friends, bringing friends home, and visiting friends at their homes. We inquired about Punjabis parents' guidelines for appropriate behavior. The responses of both students and parents indicate that Punjabi young people, especially girls, see their friends largely at school, or at the Gurdwara [Sikh temple]. After school children have their homework, housework, and other family responsibilities to tend to. When they do have free time girls engage in family activities, playing games with their siblings, or visiting relatives; they also watch television and video-taped movies from India.

Punjabi parents want their girls to stay at home. Most do not object to their daughters occasionally having a friend over, especially if they know the friend's parents. They do, however, object to their girls visiting at another house, unless it is the home of a close family friend. In such cases the outing will usually be a family affair, with an older sister or brother, or the parents, joining in the visit. Few teenage girls are permitted to go out with friends. A girl "roaming about outside" does not look well, parents feel. When young people are off on their own, furthermore, there is always the temptation for them to "start doing the wrong things."

Punjabi parents, furthermore, worry about what trouble may befall their children in Valleyside. Newer arrivals in particular feel insecure in an environment they do not know or understand. Parents are concerned, too, that their children may be abused by hostile Valleysiders, or led astray by Valleysider youngsters whose values differ from those of Punjabi parents. For their girls Punjabis also fear the possibility of sexual promiscuity or, worse yet, rape.

Punjabi boys are given more opportunity than their sisters to go out with friends, especially to take part in sporting events at the Gurdwara after school. Like girls, boys spend much of their time

helping out at home, or with farm work, and they, too, must allow time for homework. In their free time, however, boys may go to the movies or enjoy other social activites with friends. The parents' concern is that their sons not fall in with a bad crowd. They are instructed to avoid fights, alcohol, drugs, and tobacco. Parents counsel sons, furthermore, to use their time wisely and not to wander about town aimlessly, or engage in other inappropriate behavior such as showing disrespect for elders.

In general, Punjabi parents believe children should be closely supervised. This is the Indian tradition and parents feel secure in the knowlege that their ways have worked for generations. Strictness builds good habits and good character, although some parents note that "it is not good to be too strict." By this they mean that "you should control the child as much as he can cope with it." This can be accomplished by keeping children busy and giving them little "time to fool around." If children have time to "waste," they will "start going the wrong way." Children need to learn the meaning of hard work and gradually assume their full share of family responsibilities.

Helping the Family Group

Children participate in all household chores, girls helping their mothers and boys their fathers. In addition, young people are expected to become contributing members of the family unit. Parents feel that if they purchase a house, or a farm, it benefits the entire family. It makes sense, therefore, that children help the family become established and maintain itself. When Punjabi families first arrive in this country they may even need their teenage children's assistance in meeting basic monthly expenses. "There are four or five members of the family," one Punjabi noted, but "we only get $3.35 an hour." This man said his children's wages helped the family meet its monthly expenses. Another father referred to his sons as follows: "When they become adolescents...we say that now...they will do some form of work and we will get some support financially." Punjabi parents encourage their children to work and to earn money.

Many parents take their children along with them to do thinning and picking in the orchards. In fact, all Punjabi boys and all but one of the girls in our sample reported that they had done farm work in the summer.3/ Parents feel that if they "encourage work from the

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3. Compared with Valleysiders, Punjabi youngsters have few opportunities for summer jobs apart from farm work. Of the Valleysiders only 57 percent of the boys and 37 percent of the girls had ever worked on a farm, although all but one had been employed in one or more jobs. Only one Valleysider student reported farm work as her only work experience.

beginning, then the child will pay attention to work [and] will learn to stand on his or her feet."

Even if a Punjabi family does not need the children's financial contribution to meet monthly expenses, parents expect youngsters to do their share. Sons of established farmers will help out on the farm during the school year as much as they can without sacrificing their school work. They have no expectation of pay. Their parents, after all, provide their food, clothing, and spending money. During school vacations parents encourage their children to find employment. It is best to keep them occupied, parents point out; otherwise they can become "lazy" and "irresponsible." Parents urge children, furthermore, to gain practical experience and to save money for the future. Only 11 percent of the Punjabi students reported that they spent all their earnings. The large majority either saves some or gives some to their parents, who, in turn, save it for them, unless it simply must be used for living expenses. When Punjabi children marry their parents give them the money which has been set aside. All Punjabis teach their children the importance of saving.

Punjabi parents maintain control over family finances. When children want to buy something, they ask their parents for whatever they need. If the expense is an apporpriate one, the parent gives the child the requested sum. In addition to assuring that funds are wisely spent, this system helps parents maintain their authority, one father observed.

Although work is important, most Punjabi parents put a child's studies first. Many parents discourage children from holding a job during the school week, unless they feel certain that it is not interfering with the child's studies. School work is seen as especially important for boys, particularly those planning to go to college. Punjabi parents will discourage a son from working after school, unless absolutely necessary. In the future, however, when his studies are finished, a young man will be expected to take up his financial responsibilities and help to support his parents, who, after all, as one Punjabi parent observed, cannot work forever.

"Standing On Your Own Feet"

The concept of self-reliance, when translated into Punjabi, is "stand on your own feet." It has connotations different from its English equivalent. As young people move from the status of children to that of adults they are expected to carry their own weight and no longer be financially dependent on their parents. Punjabi children learn to shoulder responsibilities gradually, from the time they are small. Once they have finished their education and are married, they take up increased responsibilities, but they still defer to parents or elder in-laws.

There is no assumption that young people, once married, should move off on their own. If they remain in their parents' home, family expenses will be lower and the young couple will be able to save for the future. Staying in their parents' home is seen as an aid to self-reliance, in the Punjabi sense of the term. Punjabis are also very adventurous and will encourage their young, after marriage, to move thousands of miles away, if better opportunities await them. Parents expect, however, that when they grow old their children will help care for them, because "in old age you need help." A woman's first responsibility at this point will be to her husband's family, a man's to his parents. This, too, is seen as part of any individual's responsibilities, an essential part of "standing on your feet." Marriage, in the Punjabi view, is itself an essential step in parents' preparation of their children for self-reliance.

Arranged marriages are not seen as conflicting with "standing on your own feet." Through careful selection of a mate for their child the parents are not only securing the child's future, but their own, by helping put the child thus "on his own feet" and by assuring that they have family to care for them in their later years. A marriage unites two families, as well as two individuals. Parents take very seriously their responsibility to see that the best possible arrangements are made. They act, as they see it, for the good of their children by helping to arrange a stable marriage. Divorce is anathema in the Punjabi community. It is the antithesis of responsibility to family.

Punjabi parents feel that they, because of their experience, will be able to find an appropriate mate for their children. Parents "always like to see the children happy," one father noted, "and to be happy you have to have a good husband or a good wife." It is best if parents "make the arrangement."

Should children attempt to choose for themselves parents worry that they may overlook many important aspects to a suitable match. One parent noted, for example, that young people do not look at such matters as "caste," "family background," or "living standards." Instead, "they just marry." This is one of the dangers, Punjabis feel, in pushing decision making on children when they are still young. If children are encouraged to make independent decisions, when the time comes, they will also "want to marry on their own."

Most Punjabi parents strongly oppose "love marriages," fearing that problems will crop up later on. If problems do arise in marriages undertaken without parental permission, one parent noted, then "parents don't support [the child] in any way. They say you married against our will. You are no longer part of us." Other parents are more "flexible;" they feel that if they stand in the way of their children marrying someone they have found for themselves, they may "never forgive them." In such cases, if the parents can approve the person a child has chosen, they will go forward to arrange the union.

In general, Punjabis believe it is good to marry young so that a couple can grow together. Youth, however, lacks the experience to make mature decisions. Parents feel strongly that because they are older and more experienced they "can find better boys and girls than if the girl and boy had to choose themselves."4/ Up until the point of marriage a young person is not considered fully mature and is felt still to be the parent's responsbility. After marriage the child is considered an adult and, at this point, is expected to stand on his or her own feet.

C. Cultural Variation

In presenting differences between Valleysider and Punjabi perspectives on child rearing we do not want to lose sight of either similarities between the two groups or variation within each. Both groups teach young people to pull their own weight by the time they reach their late teens or early twenties. Parents will continue to assist, as necessary, but they expect their child, at this point, to shoulder adult responsibilities. Both sets of parents want much the same thing for their offspring--that they are happy and successful. They hope their children will be economically secure, adopt good moral standards, become responsible citizens, marry well, and have a good home life.

Both groups place high value on family, while at the same time both respect independence and individualism. Punjabis, for example, once married, have few qualms about setting off on their own to begin new lives in places more distant than many Valleysiders ever travel. In their new surroundings, moreover, they have shown remarkable adaptability. Punjabis carry with them their strong traditions, sense of history, and respect for family and community. These become their building blocks in each new location. These they pass on to their children, as their parents' parents have done before them. Our ways, they say, "are best for us." Valleysiders are no different. They, too, believe their ways are good and seek to pass them on to the next generation.

We also do not wish to portray a false sense of homogeneity within each group. Variation emerges clearly from our samples. A number of Valleysider parents, as noted, speak out against children doing "their own thing." One father observed that "no man is an island." Whatever he did, he couldn't do just to please himself. That way, he said,

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4. With the help of family and friends living in other countries, Valleyside Punjabis are able to identify suitable mates for their children in India, England, and Canada.

> I'll never be happy. My happiness comes in pleasing [my wife], or the family, or somebody. And doing something that is appreciated. And I can't just be my own person and be happy. [Valleysider father]

Some Punjabi parents, on the other hand, emphasize the necessity for risk-taking among youth:

> We train them to take the responsibility. Responsibiity means to take risks and risks mean responsibility. If you take responsibility, you will succeed in life, otherwise no. [Punjabi father]

The contrasts between the two groups which we have described are, nonetheless, very real. While each respects the individual and each the group, the balance is different, the view of family is different, appropriate roles according to age and sex are different.

Valleysiders and Punjabis differ in the way they identify themselves. Punjabis, who freely and proudly call themselves "Punjabi," or "Sikh," forthrightly assume an ethnic identity. Valleysiders reject the idea that they have any ethnic identity. They may differ among themselves in religion, national background, and social class, but their identification is strongly and simply "American;" they see themselves as representing the national group. Other people, the minorities, are the "ethnics." While Punjabis derive great pride from being members of a group which shares a distinctive religion, certain marriage customs, and other cultural values, they resent the prevalent Valleysider view of American culture which, through equating the national culture with their own "mainstream" way of life, excludes Punjabis and other minorities from being equally American.

Neither the Valleysider nor Punjabi group sees the complexity and heterogeneity of American society as a whole. Several of the Valleysiders interviewed even wondered if they had a cultural tradition at all. It is indeed difficult to describe a single American cultural system because the society is a smorgasbord of many groups, each with its idiosyncratic ways. Any individual may participate in several of these, related most likely to region, social class, religion, and ethnic heritage. Valleysiders, themselves, stem from different religious and ethnic traditions, but most are Christian and most have ancestors who came to this country from Northern Europe. Most Valleysiders, furthermore, are what would usually be called solidly "middle class." By their lives in Valleyside and California, they share aspects of a regional culture distinct, for example, from that of the Northeast or Southwest. Their views, expressed throughout the comparative interviews, reveal both their differences and their commonalities. Patterns of response emerge, but as a group the Valleysiders are more diverse than the Punjabis.

It is not surprising that the Punjabis, the Jat Sikhs in particular, are a much more homogeneous group, coming as most do from one small area in the Northwest of India, and sharing as they do the same religious and occupational traditions. Although their responses to interivew questions clearly reflect a range of viewpoints, as can be expected with any group of individuals, they also indicated a striking degree of similarity in attitudes and values. Even the Muslims and Hindus in Valleyside share many of the same cultural traditions, due to their common Punjabi heritage. The cultural system of the Valleyside Punjabis, however, is not identical to that of their relatives in India. Like all cultural systems theirs is changed by time and place, and there is emerging in Valleyside a Punjabi American culture.

D. A Comparative Perspective

An understanding of cultural differences is essential, we believe, to an understanding of educational success and of barriers to educational opportunity. The corporate nature of the Punjabi family, for example, is misunderstood by many Valleysiders. Some Valleysiders assume a relationship between household size and such other variables as cleanliness and wealth, as the following quotations indicate:

> These [Punjabis] aren't necesarily migrant workers. These are people that own the ranches....They just, I don't know, a whole mob of them in one house--none of them seem to be very clean. [Valleysider man]

> I go for walks and I see like maybe 8 or so people around a tiny little house and I suppose if you went into some of the poorer sections of town you'd see the same thing in any nationality. [Valleysider woman]

Lacking understanding of Punjabi culture, many Valleysiders misinterpret the meaning of Punjabi living arrangements. They evaluate the Punjabi way of life through their own mainstream American cultural framework. Some even evoke the teachings of Christianity to bolster their belief that extended families ought not to live together:

> That experiment has been proven a long time ago. You can go to the Bible for that. You can't have that many people in that small a space. It just doesn't work. [Valleysider man]

This man went on to note, however, that "evidently they think it works."

In a similar fashion Punjabis misunderstand the Valleysider nuclear family system. Many are convinced that Valleysiders push children out on their own against their will and best interests. "American people," Punjabis note, "don't want to spend any money on

their kids and they try to kick them out [of the house]." One Punjabi father spoke at length about the differences between the two groups:

> We have different customs and attitudes. Especially relating to our girls, we think differently and they think differently. For example, when I came from India my brother-in-law took me to his next door neighbor's [a Valleysider]. My brother-in-law started asking about his 17 year old boy and 18 year old girl. I will never forget what he said: "The boy has stopped going to school and I am going to tell him to get out and get lost, if he doesn't go back to school, [instead of] always staying at home. For the girl I have to take her to the doctor." My brother asked him, "Why?" He said, "After finishing high school she is not going out with any boy!" He said that he will have to take her to the doctor.

This Punjabi went on to contrast the two sets of values:

> Here is a man who thinks that there is something wrong with his daughter because she is not going out with boys, that there is something wrong psychologically. We don't even want our daughters to to out of the house, and they don't want their daughters to sit at home....I even want my daughters to marry someone whom I choose. It is my responsibility. These people think the girl should do it herself.

The two cultural systems, as this man notes, do indeed differ.

It is not only the behavioral patterns which are important, but their underlying meaning. Why people behave as they do is not always apparent to the actors themselves and, often, is subject to different interpretations when viewed by others. One young man, a Punjabi, raised in Valleyside and exposed to both systems all his life, made the following observations about young people setting out on their own when they finish their schooling.

> I think the East Indians need more knowledge [of the mainstream culture] to base their opinions on. They base it on our culture....It is taboo in ours, so it should be taboo in theirs. [Punjabis] are very possessive about their kids. Since they have raised them up and everything, they [believe they] should have something in return from their kids. They tend to feel that the Americans should do the same. It is very different.

This student noted that Punjabi parents tend to believe that their children want to stay at home, while Valleysiders "don't care either way," telling their children the decision is up to them; it is their future and they must decide what is best. Punjabis, on the other hand, think children should remain nearby for the mutual benefit of young and old alike.

Only through a comparative perspective can we fully appreciate cultural differences and their meanings. Indeed, our effort to describe the two cultural systems has benefited as much from each group's view of the other, as from each group's description of its own beliefs and ways.

E. Summary

Valleysider and Punjabi child rearing practices, during the teenage years in particular, differ quite markedly with respect to the amount of supervision which parents provide. These differences stem from Punjabi and Valleysider perspectives on adolescence, parenting, marriage, and most especially, self-reliance, which both sets of parents value for their offspring. Self-reliance must be understood within the cultural context of each group. For Punjabis it means to carry one's weight and to shoulder all appropriate responsibilities within the family group. Valleysiders, on the other hand, raise their children to live on their own, able to care for themselves, at least in theory, without dependence on parents or others.

Many Valleysiders view dependence on others as the opposite of self-reliance. This theme was stated most strongly by some Valleysiders in connection with their wishes for their daughters. Although they hope someday that their daughters will be happily married to men with a "good" jobs, they also want them to have a careers and to be able to support themselves and their children, should the need arise.

To prepare young people for life on their own Valleysiders teach their children, from a very early age, to make decisions independently. Valleysider parents expect their children, by their late teens, to make most of their own decisions regarding such matters as their social life, living arrangements, career, marriage, and education. Many Valleysider parents are well pleased with their children's maturity and decision-making abilities. Others worry because their teenage child is either still too dependent on "Mom and Dad," or is too independent, believing that he or she no longer needs parental supervision and guidance.

The schools, as we shall show, reinforce the "on your own" value so deeeply rooted in mainstream American culture. By their high school years teachers urge students to take responsibility for decisions regarding such matters as course selection, attendance and homework; they actively encourage young people to discuss and defend their ideas, to know their rights and responsibilities, and to be prepared for the day, soon to arrive, when they shall live apart from their parents. Some Valleysider parents may object to an overemphasis by the high school on being "on your own," but most see the school as reinforcing values taught at home.

Punjabi parents view adolescence quite differently. It is a time, they feel, when young people need especially strong parental supervision. During their teens, Punjabis say, children naturally "question everything" including, at times, even their parents' values, but they still lack the maturity to decide for themselves what life style is in their ultimate best interest. Far from encouraging their children to make decisions on their own, Punjabi parents expect children to defer to those older than they for guidance and approval. In this way Punjabis feel they are able to keep their children out of harm's way. Punjabi youngsters, if they have no school work, are kept busy with household rresponsibilities, jobs, and family activities. Teenage boys may be encouraged also to take part in sports. In general, however, young people are expected to be at home when not at school or work.

Punjabi parents look askance at the apparent laxness of parental authority in many Valleysider homes. They see Valleysider youths wandering about aimlessly, or worse yet causing trouble, while both parents pursue their own independent activities, either at work or socially. These same Valleysider youngsters, they realize, are often poor students, even troublemakers, in high school. Their own children, they hope, will not be influenced to place social activities ahead of their studies, as many Valleysiders do, but rather will treat school work with the same diligence as they would a job or family obligations.

A similar contrast between the "American way of life" and the "Chinese way of life" is discussed in detail by Hsu (1981) in his penetrating work on American culture. The mainstream American emphasis on the independence of the individual, Hsu writes, had its origins in England, but has developed in America a more pervasive form. American children do not reject their parents, as some observers of American life mistakenly suggest, but they do wish to be their equals, Hsu notes, free from supervision even by the teenage years. As children near adulthood their relationship shifts away from obedience and deference to their elders to a reliance on self and a striving to get ahead on their own. The Punjabis, however, like many other Asian groups, including Hsu's Chinese, remain more closely tied to their parents, even as adults, each dependent on the other in a relationship which serves the mutual benefits of both. Punjabi youngsters are raised to find their identity and security through their family and to care little about outside social activities in which unrelated peers become their reference group.

Both systems, mainsteam American and Punjabi, have their strengths, both their weakensses. Both also have direct bearing on the school-response patterns of Valleysider and Punjabi youth, including their views of formal education, the effort they place on matters academic, and their relationships with teachers and peers.

PART TWO

YOUTH AND SCHOOLING

We have looked in detail at Punjabis and Valleysiders, their backgrounds, employment niches, success strategies, and styles of child rearing. We have looked also at social relations between the two groups. In the second part of this report we turn to investigation of schooling itself and the cultural and structural factors which bear upon educational opportunity.

Chapter Six focuses on academic performance and lays out a set of quantitative data which reveal both inter-group and intra-group variation in achievement. Chapter Seven discusses home-school linkages and shows how parents' views of schooling shape student response patterns in both positive and negative ways. In Chapter Eight we consider the influence, on educational success, of structural factors related to the school program itself. The final section in Part Two shows both how social relations at school serve as a barrier to educational opportunity and how social factors interrelate with the structural and cultural variables previously discussed. Chapter Nine also addresses issues of cultural adaptation, focusing on how Punjabi youths respond to differences between their parents' values and those of the Valleysider mainstream. Each chapter closes with a summary.

Valleyside Unified School District: Goals and Philosophy

The formal goals of the Valleyside Unified School System shed light on the district's definition of school success. These goals, doubtless, greatly resemble those of most school districts across the nation. The Valleyside School District has formally stated that it is the responsibility of the schools to give all students opportunities

to participate in educational experiences that will contribute to their:

- . intellectual growth and development,
- . civic responsibility in the community and nation,
- . social awareness and responsibility,
- . emotional maturity,
- . vocational education,
- . physical fitness and health,
- . understanding and appreciation of the American heritage,
- . economic understanding and usefulness,
- . understanding and appreciation of science, technology, and the environment, and
- . understanding and appreciation of the arts.1/

These goals express the District's stated educational philosophy. The purposes of education, the District has asserted, are to transmit to each student the culture of this society, "enriched and diversified by its many peoples," to provide each student an equal educational opportunity, and to encourage each student to achieve his/her potential.2/ Valleyside High School has its own statement of goals which places high priority on skills in reading, mathematics, and communication; citizenship; vocational education; physical and mental health; and the "interdependence of races, cultures, creeds, and nations."3

Most of those interviewed in the course of this study would agree with these statements of goals and philosophy. The statements are in keeping with their belief that formal education, especially at the high school level, should help prepare young people for life as adults in the society in which they shall live. Education that helps students reach the goals will assist them as they go forward from high

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1. Summarized from Board Bylaw 1002, adopted December 19, 1978.

2. Partial summary from Board Bylaw 1001, adopted December 19, 1978.

3. The first 5 of 18 educational goals, stated in priority order. The statement of goals for the high school was "arrived at through a randomly selected segment of the school district population" (Valleyside High School, March, 1980).

school to take up their roles in society as responsible and self-reliant individuals.

Valleyside High School

Valleyside High is a large, four-year high school. It services nearly three quarters of the county's population and is the district's only comprehensive high school.4/ The high school has a student body of some 2,100 and a faculty of 131. The professional staff is well educated--all but 2 have a master's degree or 30 plus semester units beyond the baccalaureate. It is experienced--over half have been teaching for at least 10 years. Only a few of the faculty members grew up in the Valleyside area. The majority, however, has lived in Valleyside since the beginning of their teaching careers. Two thirds are men, including all 7 administrators; 94 percent are "white."5/

During the past five years the overall high school enrollment has decreased by about 200 students, or approximately 7 percent. In this same time span the number of Punjabi students has increased steadily. At the time of fieldwork (1980-81) approximately 11 percent of the students attending Valleyside High were Punjabi (N=231), 10 percent Mexican American (N=217), 75 percent "white," and 4 percent from other minority groups. District records, which include all Asian students in one category, show a growth in Asian student enrollment, grades kindergarten through 12, from only 2.4 percent 1972 to 12.6 percent in 1980-81. Most of this increase is the result of the Punjabi immigration into the area. Students' place of birth highlights the immigration pattern (see Table 1).

The large majority of all Punjabi students (78 percent) were born in India. Another 10 percent were born in Pakistan, England, and the Fiji Islands. Half of the Punjabis have lived in the United States for five years or less and over two thirds began their schooling in a foreign country. This contrasts sharply with the remainder of the student body. Although one third of the Mexican American students were born in Mexico, only half this number ever attended Mexican schools. The Valleysider students received all their education in the United States, two thirds of them having entered Valleyside schools in kindergarten or first grade.

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4. The district also has small continuation high schools. Several smaller high schools, which fall outside school district boundaries, are located in the outlying parts of the county.

5. The remaining 6 percent include 2 Punjabis ("East Indians"), 3 other Asians, 2 Spanish surname, and 1 black. These data on the faculty make-up come from the high school's 1979-80 Accreditation Report.

Table 1. Valleyside High School: Student Birthplace (in percent).

Birthplace	Punjabi	Mexican American	*Valleysider
California	12.2	62.3	83.2
Other U.S.	---	3.7	16.8
Non U.S.	87.8	34.0	---

*random sample of all other students in grades 9-12.

We turn now to the academic performance patterns of the different student groups.

CHAPTER SIX

ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE: QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS

Academic success in this country is commonly measured by standardized test scores, grades, courses taken, and fulfillment of all requirements for the high school diploma. For students whose home language is other than English, degree of proficiency in English is an additional indicator of academic performance. These five seperate measures, while interrelated, provide insights into different aspects of student achievement.1/

A. Graduation from High School

To graduate from Valleyside High students must earn 220 high school credits, meet the District's and State's requirements in English, social studies, physical eduction, science, and mathematics, and pass state mandated "proficiency tests" in reading, writing, and mathematics. Only about 70 percent of the students who enter Valleyside High as freshmen graduate with their class four years hence.2/ Attrition is due to a combination of factors. Some students transfer to one of the District's two continuation high schools. Some opt for an adult education diploma, which requires fewer course credits, and

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1. Valleyside High maintains excellent records in each of these areas. All data presented in the following pages had to be collected by hand, as school records are not yet fully computerized, but the cooperation of school personnel greatly facilitated the task.

2. High school records show that 463 students were enrolled in 12th grade in June 1981 compared with 670 students enrolled in 9th grade in June 1978.

leave before finishing their senior year. A few graduate as juniors or after the first semester of their senior year. The remainder leaves school without receiving a school diploma. Since our research focused on students in their final year of high school, it was beyond the scope of this project to collect systematic data on those who leave school prior to the 12th grade.

High school graduation in Valleyside, as elsewhere in America, is an especially important measure of school success. Forty of the 45 Punjabi students classified by the District as seniors in September 1980 received their high school diplomas in 1981, 9 of them graduating in January, 30 in June, and one in August. One boy dropped out of school to help support his family; another boy was unable to pass the required proficiency tests. One girl dropped out for health reasons; two more were unable to pass their proficiency tests in time to graduate with their classmates, but returned to the high school the following fall to fulfill remaining requirements.

Of the 42 Valleysiders in our senior sample,3/ 29 received their high school diplomas in 1981. Six more (5 boys and 1 girl) earned their adult education diplomas that same year. The remainder lacked sufficient credits to graduate with their classmates. Only two girls failed to finish. Both, according to their parents, were "slow learners" and had been placed in special programs during their elementary years. Five boys (nearly one quarter of the sample) did not receive a diploma. Two had encountered special problems in learning to read. These boys, together with a third, who was frequently absent from school due to health problems, failed to master "the basics" in elementary school and simply could not keep up with the pace in high school. The other two, seemingly, had both the aptitude and skills needed, but had not applied them with sufficient diligence either to meet graduation requirements or to earn an adult diploma.

Table 2 presents the graduation findings for students in our senior samples. Punjabi students are successful, more successful than Valleysider students, in meeting graduation requirements at Valleyside High School. Regardless of how many years they have lived in the United States, most Punjabi students receive their high school diplomas. Students who transfer from foreign high schools usually receive full credit for the courses they have taken. Thus, while some students may be restricted in the courses they can take due to lack of fluency in English, they are not delayed in accumulating the necessary number of credits for graduation. Many Punjabi students elect to graduate early, if they have earned sufficient credits and met all other diploma requirements. Although Punjabis accounted for only 8.6

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3. Random sample of all non-Punjabi, non-Mexican American students listed as 12th graders either at Valleyside High or at one of the District's continuation high schools in September 1980.

percent of the 1981 graduates, they totalled 39 percent of those finishing at mid-term. Of the 9 early graduates in our Punjabi sample, 6 entered junior college the following semester. One boy went to India for a visit; one girl was working and another was at home, expecting to work during the summer and to begin college in the fall.

Table 2. Percent of High School Seniors Receiving their Diplomas: Punjabis and Valleysiders, Class of 1981.

	*Punjabis			**Valleysiders		
	Male (N=19)	Female (N=26)	Total (N=45)	Male (N=22)	Female (N=20)	Total (N=42)
January Graduates	21.1	19.2	20.0	---	---	---
June Graduates	68.4	65.4	66.7	54.5	85.0	69.0
August Graduates	---	3.8	2.2	---	---	---
Adult Diploma	---	---	---	22.7	5.0	14.3
Did Not Graduate	10.5	11.5	11.1	22.7	10.0	16.7

*Includes all students listed as 12th graders in September 1980.
**Random sample of all non-Punjabi, non Mexican-American students listed as 12th graders in September 1980.

B. Grades Received

Turning next to grades, we found that Punjabi students, on the whole, receive about the same grades as Valleysiders, with Punjabi boys earning somewhat higher marks than Punjabi girls. The reverse is true for Valleysiders; girls receive the better marks. The greatest difference, therefore, is between Punjabi boys and Valleysider boys, with the former, as a group, receiving consistently higher marks. Table 3 presents the mean "mark-point-average" (MPA) received by students in our senior samples over their four years in high school. Table 4 shows class rank, by quartile, for students in each sample. Had we stratified the Valleysider sample by class rank, we would have had an even spread across the four quartiles. Without stratification, however, approximately half of the Valleyside High students fell in the top half of the class. The continuation high students, largely boys, had significantly lower marks; their mean MPA over the four-year period was 1.69 on a 4 point scale.

Table 3. Cumulative Mark-Point-Average: Punjabis and Valleysiders, Class of 1981.

	Punjabis			*Valleysiders		
	Male Mean (N=18)	Female Mean (N=25)	Total Mean (N=43)	Male Mean (N=18)	Female Mean (N=19)	Total Mean (N=37)
Four Year MPA	2.70	2.44	2.55	2.24	2.66	2.46

A = 4, B = 3, C = 2, D = 1, and F = 0.
*Excludes continuation high students, whose average MPA was 1.69.

Table 4. Rank in Class: Punjabis and Valleysiders, Class of 1981 (in percent).

	Punjabis			*Valleysiders		
	Male (N=18)	Female (N=25)	Total (N=43)	Male (N=18)	Female (N=19)	Total (N=37)
Top Quarter	38.9	16.0	25.6	16.7	21.1	18.9
2nd Quarter	11.1	20.0	16.3	27.8	31.6	29.7
3rd Quarter	11.1	40.0	27.9	16.7	42.1	29.7
4th Quarter	38.9	24.0	30.2	38.9	5.2	21.6

*Excludes continuation high school students.

The average mark-point-average for Punjabi students is equivalent to a "B-" and for Valleysider students, excluding those in continuation high school, a "C+". Students in both groups received higher marks during their senior year, when they were taking more elective courses, than they did during their first years in high school.

English Proficiency and Years in the United States

Analysis of high school grades revealed no clear relationship between grades received and either years in the United States or English fluency. Students classified as FES (fluent-English-speaking) tended to receive the higher marks, but the differences were not striking. Newer arrivals, perhaps surprisingly, also tended to receive higher marks than those who have lived in the United States all or most of their lives. These two findings may appear somewhat contradictory, since almost all students who had been in the United States throughout their school years were classified by the school district as FES. Some of the most able students in our Punjabi sample, however, especially boys, were recent arrivals. The average marks given to limited-English-speaking students in ESL classes, furthermore, are higher than those given by the English department.4/ Table 5 presents these findings.

Table 5. Punjabi Marks by English Language Proficiency and Years of U.S. Schooling, Class of 1981.

	Male Mean	Female Mean	Total Mean
Language Proficiency			
FES	2.88	2.53	2.69
LES and NES	2.47	2.39	2.42
Grade Entered U.S. Schools			
K - 2	2.46	2.46	2.46
3 - 6	2.12	2.42	2.31
7 - 12	2.99	2.44	2.69

FES = Fluent English LES = Limited English NES = Non English

We also looked at marks received by underclassmen to be sure our senior sample, only 43 students, was representative of all Punjabis

4. The average mark given in English-as-a-second-language classes (ESL 1, 2, and 3,) in June 1981 was 2.45, compared with an average mark of 2.18 given in "regular" English classes.

attending Valleyside High.5/ The patterns held true. The average mark-point-average for all FES Punjabi students, for example, grades 9-12 (N=97), was 2.67. Again boys did somewhat better than girls, 2.77 versus 2.51.

Parents' Income and Education

We investigated the relationship between students' grades and both parents' income and education. Since the Punjabi families who have been in the United States longest are generally also the wealthiest, it is clear from the data already presented that parents' income does not correlate in any positive fashion with students' grades. Children of farm laborers, recently arrived in the United States, receive equally high, if not higher grades, than children of established farm owners.

Parents' education, we found, is no predictor of school grades either for Punjabi youth. Many of the mothers (70 percent) and quite a few of the fathers (33 percent) in our sample have themselves had only a very limited amount of schooling (zero to five years). Only one in ten mothers has finished high school. Men in India have traditionally had more opportunity to attend school, especially secondary school, than women. This pattern is borne out in our sample. Over 40 percent of the fathers, contrasted with 10 percent of the mothers, have finished high school.

Many families in Punjab, especially in the period when our parent sample was attending school, have pursued a strategy of educating only one or two of their sons through high school. Those who planned to farm for a living, it was assumed, would not need a lot of book learning. To send children through high school, furthermore, when they could be at home helping to support the family was, and still is, for many families in Punjab an economic hardship. Comparatively speaking, our sample of Punjabi fathers is better educated than their counterparts in India. Literacy rates for the Jullundur and Hoshiarpur districts of Punjab in 1971 were close to 50 percent for males and just over 30 percent for females, higher than most other districts in Punjab and substantially higher than for India as a whole.6/ Of those counted as literate in India in the 1971 census, only 15.3 percent of the men and 9.5 percent of the women had finished high school.7/ Many had attended school for only a few years.

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5. Our analysis of grades excludes special education students and those for whom there is no cumulative record.

6. Findings from the 1971 India census, cited in P. Singh, 1975:12.

7. Cited in Aggarwal 1976:88.

Punjabi parents, whether or not they themselves have had the opportunity to finish high school, want their children to receive their diplomas. Parents' aspirations for their children and the support which they give them, together with the students' own goals and assumptions about the value of schooling, are more important factors in explaining Punjabi performance than parental education and income. Using grades and graduation as success indicators, Punjabi students are very successful in high school. Although significant, we find these measures insufficient for describing the academic performance patterns of Punjabi youth. It is necessary also to examine courses taken, English language proficiency, and scores received on standardized tests.

C. The Valleyside High Curriculum

Valleyside High offers a wide variety of courses, both academic and vocational. The curriculum is similar to that of most schools of comparable size, with the exception that, as might be expected for the area, a larger percentage of program effort is devoted to agriculture than is true in most secondary schools. Table 6 shows the percent of program effort by subject area for the 1980-81 school year. Approximately half of the instructional time is devoted to English, math, science, social studies, and foreign languages; one quarter to vocational education; and the final quarter to physical education, art, music, and all other classes.

Graduation Requirements

Graduation requirements include 4 semesters of English (20 credits), 6 semesters of social studies (30 credits), 4 semesters of physical education (20 credits), and 2 semesters each of mathematics and science (20 credits), for a total of 90 required credits. All other credits (130 minimum) are electives. A student's course of study is developed with assistance from school counselors in accordance with his or her needs and interests. Some students take courses to improve their proficiency in English and mathematics. Some move as rapidly as possible into vocational courses. Some pursue advanced academic courses to meet university entrance requirements. Some, especially those without clear academic or vocational goals, take a mixture of general education and vocational courses, as many units as are necessary to earn their diplomas.

Instructional Tracks

To meet the needs of the diverse student body many of the high school's departments gear their course offerings to several different levels of ability and achievement. The English department groups courses in two ways. First, courses increase in difficulty, students

Table 6. Valleyside High School: Percent of Program Effort by Subject Area, Spring 1981.

Academic	
English	11.9
Skills Center	3.9
Mathematics	11.8
Science	7.9
Social Studies	12.7
Foreign Languages	4.1
Subtotal:	(52.3)
Vocational	
Agriculture	3.6
Business	5.6
Home Economics	2.4
Industrial Arts	8.3
Other	4.0
Subtotal:	(23.9)
Mixed	
Art	3.3
Driver Education	2.5
Music	1.5
Physical Education	12.2
Other	4.3
Subtotal:	(23.8)
TOTAL:	100.0

Note: Skills Center includes basic English skills, reading, and English-as-a-second-language classes. Mathematics includes business math classes.

progressing from English 1 (generally taken in 9th grade) to English 4 (a college preparatory course taken in 12th grade). Additionally, students are placed into slow ("A" level) or fast ("B" level) tracks of English 1, 2, and 3 according to standardized test scores and past classroom performance.8/ Students whose test scores are judged too low for placement in English 1 are required to take remedial English classes ("Basic English Skills" and "Reading") or English-as-a-second-language (ESL) classes.

In recent years the high school has greatly expanded the number of ESL and remedial English classes due to an increased emphasis on minimum levels of competence in basic skills, state requirements that all students must pass a standardized proficiency test in reading and writing in order to graduate, and the rise in the number of Punjabi students who arrive each year at Valleyside High with limited skills in English. To be placed in English 1A in 9th grade students must score above the 24th percentile on the writing segment of the Proficiency Test taken in 7th or 8th grade.9/ Those scoring below this level must enroll in remedial English or ESL.

Students are also placed into math, science, social science, foreign language, and driver eduction classes according to standardized test scores and teacher recommendation. Social science and driver education classes are divided into ESL, "A level", and "B level" sections. In math, science and foreign language classes there is a natural progression from one course to another, based upon student achievement. The high school's basic placement criterion is that a student must score above the 40th percentile on the California Test of Basic Skills (C.T.B.S.), taken in 8th grade, to be enrolled as a 9th grader in pre-algebra, "introduction to physical science" (IPS), and a "B level" section of social science. Students with substantially higher test scores are eligible to take algebra and a foreign language in the 9th grade. Students with lower scores must take remedial math, general science, and an "A level" section of social science. Limited-English-speaking (LES) and non-English-speaking (NES) students take special ESL classes in each of these subject areas.

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8. The sequence of regular, non-remedial English courses at Valleyside High is English 1A or 1B (followed by 1R, for those who fail); 2A or 2B; 201, or 200 (for those who are weak in the basics and wish to improve their skills before taking 201 or graduating); and 202, taken in the senior year by college preparatory students who have successfully completed English 1, 2, and 201.

9. The score which the English department has selected as the minimum to gain admission into English 1 is equal to the 24th percentile for a nationwide sample of eighth graders taking the same proficiency test in writing, or what is roughly equivalent, school personnel say, to "a 6th grade writing level."

Essentially, the high school courses fall into three instructional levels or tracks, the first for students lacking the necessary skills to keep up in "regular" academic classes, the second for students whose skills are average to low average, and the third for those with above average skills, or demonstrated achievement in the prerequisite classes. For descriptive purposes we have assigned all English, math, science, social studies, and driver education classes to one of three groupings, as follows:

- Basic Skills includes basic math, general science, basic English Skills, reading, and all ESL classes.

- Track A includes all courses designated as "A level;" English 1R, 200, and business English; pre-algebra and plane geometry; introduction to physical science and the accelerated section of animal science.

- Track B includes all "B level" classes (except animal science); English 201 and 202, plane/solid goemetry, advanced algebra, trigonometry, and math analysis; biology 1 and 2, chemistry and physics.

Courses which are open to students of various ability levels we have labeled "Other." These include English 190 and 191, all social studies classes not ranked according to ability level, and all science classes not listed above, including those offered in the agriculture department which meet graduation requirements in science.

Table 7 shows the distribution of students across the three levels, by ethnic grouping and by percent of instructional hours spent in each level. The table includes all 2,100 students enrolled in Valleyside High, grades 9-12, in the spring of 1981.

Punjabi students spend half of all instructional hours in the basic skills (or remedial) classes and only 17 percent of their time in Track B classes. Only 10 percent of Punjabi classroom time in English and mathematics is spent in the higher level courses, which are generally the courses required for university entrance. The percent of contact hours spent by Punjabis in upper division science classes is higher, but this does not mean more Punjabi students take advanced science. The reverse is actually the case. Only 36 percent of the Punjabi students were taking any science class at all in the spring of 1981, compared with 70 percent of the Valleysiders (basically equivalent to the "all other" grouping) and 42 percent of the Mexican Americans. Table 8 shows the percentages of high school students enrolled in English, math, and science classes in the spring of 1981.

Table 7. Valleyside High School, Spring 1981: Percent of Contact Hours, by Instructional Level, by Ethnic Grouping.

Department	Basic Skills	Track A	Track B	Other
English				
Punjabi	73.2	15.9	10.6	.3
Mexican American	45.3	39.6	13.2	1.9
All Other	9.7	42.6	44.3	3.4
Mathematics				
Punjabi	48.1	41.4	10.5	---
Mexican American	42.6	47.5	9.8	---
All Other	19.6	53.9	26.6	---
Science				
Punjabi	28.7	34.5	25.3	11.5
Mexican American	27.2	30.4	26.1	16.3
All Other	8.2	31.9	43.7	16.3
Social Science				
Punjabi	22.1	37.6	27.1	13.3
Mexican American	8.7	37.6	41.6	12.1
All Other	.1	20.8	64.9	14.2
Driver Education				
Punjabi	33.3	35.9	30.8	---
Mexican American	11.5	34.6	53.8	---
All Other	.4	22.8	76.8	---
TOTAL CONTACTS				
Punjabi	50.0	28.8	16.8	4.3
Mexican American	31.4	39.1	23.3	6.2
All Other	8.9	36.9	46.6	7.6

Some students not enrolled in any science or math course in the spring semester had been enrolled in a one semester course in general science or basic math in the fall semester.10/ In general, however,

10. Approximately 11 percent of the Punjabis, 12 percent of the Mexican Americans, and 5 percent of all other students.

students take fewer semesters of science than they do of English and mathematics. Graduation requirements are a major reason for this discrepancy. Students graduating by 1982 could meet distribution requirements in science and math through a combined 2 semester (10 credit) course in math and science, while they needed 20 credits in English to graduate. Furthermore, as students must pass proficiency tests in Engish and math to graduate, but not in science, there is a heavy enrollment in the math and English classes designed to improve basic skills.

Table 8. Valleyside High School, Spring 1981: Students Enrolled in English, Mathematics and Science Classes, by Ethnic Grouping.

Department	Punjabi (in percent)	Mexican American (in percent)	All Other (in percent)
English	86.6	71.0	81.5
Mathematics	70.0	56.2	70.0
Science	36.4	42.4	59.8

It became clear to us as we pursued our investigation of course enrollment that Punjabi students, while receiving good grades and graduating in high numbers, were not taking as many advanced courses as their Valleysider classmates. The majority of Punjabis were meeting only the very minimum requirements for graduation in English, math, and science. Since ESL classes apply toward the required 20 units in English, we found that approximately 40 percent of the Punjabi students were finishing high school without taking any "regular" English classes. An even higher number (approximately 60 percent) were taking only the lowest level math and science classes. Much the same pattern was true, we found, for the Mexican American students, although a higher percentage complete English 1.11/ Among the Valleysider students the picture is quite different. About half complete two years of both high school level math and science. Two-thirds complete three years of high school level English. These findings are presented in Table 9.

11. Most Mexican American students are American born and, according to school appraisal, are fluent in English. They thus have much less need than Punjabi students for ESL classes at the high school level.

Table 9. Estimated Percent of Students Completing Each Instructional Level, by Ethnic Grouping.

Department	*Punjabi	**Mexican American	**All Other
English			
Year 1 (1A, 1R, 1B)	58.0%	99.0%	99.0%
Year 2 (2A, 2B)	49.0	48.0	99.0
Year 3 (190, 200, 201)	29.0	26.0	69.0
Year 4 (202)	7.0	5.0	22.0
Mathematics			
Year 1 (algebra 1)	40.0	38.0	67.0
Year 2 (geometry)	20.0	21.0	47.0
Year 3 (algebra 2)	8.0(combined)	10.0(combined)	26.0
Year 4 (trig/analysis)			10.0
Science			
Year 1 (I.P.S.)	42.0	46.0	72.0
Year 2 (biology 1)	25.0	25.0	52.0
Year 3 (chemistry)	11.0	12.0	31.0
Year 4 (bio 2/physics)	7.0	3.0	15.0

*Estimates are based on courses actually taken by all 11th and 12th grade Punjabis during the 1980-81 school year.
**Estimates are projections based on all courses taken in the spring semester, 1981, by all students in grades 9 - 12. The projections include students who drop out before completing four years of high school, as well as those who receive their diplomas.

Only a small percentage of students in any group continues each year to take increasingly advanced classes in English, math, and science. Those that do are generally planning to enter directly from high school into a four-year college program. Accordingly, they have pursued a college preparatory course of study during their years in high school. Most of the other students have more room in their schedules to pursue electives, including vocational courses.

This is not always the case for Punjabi students, however, especially those who are recently arrived. Students who are limited-in-English (LES) generally spend two of their six periods each day in ESL classes designed to increase basic skills in reading, writing, and speaking English. Students who are classifed as non-English-speakers (NES) spend three periods a day in ESL English. They may also be in

special ESL sections of general science, basic math, social studies, and driver education. The only non-ESL class most of them take is physical education. As their English proficiency increases they have more room in their schedules to choose their classes.

Vocational Education

By the end of their senior year most Punjabi students have spent one third of their classroom hours in vocational courses, or various types of work experience. Table 10 shows the median number of credits received by Punjabi students in selected classes. Boys and girls in our senior sample took approximately the same number of vocational courses, but most girls, in addition, earned 15 credits for work as student assistants, library aides, or clerks in a school office.

Punjabi girls are especially interested in the courses offered by the business department. Over 40 percent of the girls in our senior sample took 8 semesters (40 credits) or more of business classes.12/ None took less than 3 semesters. Most popular are classes in typing and office skills, but many girls also take bookkeeping and "job survival skills." A few take shorthand, but unless their English is excellent, they find shorthand too demanding. Most girls also earn credit for work experience or for off-campus occupational training classes. The "Regional Occupational Program" (ROP) courses of greatest interest to Punjabi girls provide training in the medical, law enforcement, retail marketing, and secretarial fields. "Work Experience" placements, which provide students with on-the-job-training for pay, are most frequently arranged for Punjabi girls in local banks or offices. A high school faculty member works with the students to arrange the off-campus work experiences. The large majority of Punjabi girls earn credit for jobs on campus as well. Most popular are assignments in the library, attendance office, and ESL classrooms. Few Punjabi girls elect courses in home economics, although most do take 2 semesters of "clothing" to learn how to make American style slacks and blouses. Girls have already been taught at home to make the traditional salwar-kameez.

Two thirds of the Punjabi boys enroll in typing, because it will prove useful in college and, according to the business teachers, because high school counselors encourage newer arrivals to take typing to improve their English skills. One third also take the job survival course offered by the business department. Of more interest to the boys, however, are the industrial arts courses which provide skills they expect to use in their careers, or which will be of practical value in farming. Some boys are interested in a trade, such

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12. Excludes students who spent less than four years at Valleyside High.

Table 10. Selected Vocational Classes Taken by Punjabi Students (Class of 1981).

Course Name	Percent Taking Course	Median No. Credits
Males		
Industrial Arts		40
Small Engine Repair	78.6	
Welding	57.1	
Auto Mechanics	57.1	
Electronics	35.7	
Business		10
Typing	64.3	
Job Survival Skills	35.7	
Student Asst./School Office Practice	42.8	
Occupational Training		19
R.O.P/Work Experience	78.6	
TOTAL:		69
Females		
Business		30
Typing	100.0	
Bookkeeping	45.0	
Job Survival Skills	40.0	
Shorthand	25.0	
Home Economics		10
Clothing	70.0	
Occupational Training		20
R.O.P./Work Experience	85.0	
School Assistance		21
Student Asst./School Office Practice/Library	80.0	
TOTAL:		81

R.O.P. = Regional Occupational Program
Sample includes 14 males and 20 females. (Students recently arrived from India and limited in English were excluded from the analysis.)

as welding or mechanics, or in electronics and, therefore, take high school courses related to these fields. Others take such courses because friends are in these classes. The large majority also takes "small engine repair" to learn how to fix gasoline powered farm tools.

D. English Language Proficiency

Nearly sixty percent of the Punjabi students, grades 9-12, are designated by the school district as either limited-English-proficient (39 percent) or non-English-proficient (21 percent). While the majority of these students (62 percent) began their American schooling in grades 7-12, over one third (38 percent) entered U.S. schools during their elementary years. As Table 11 indicates, one in five of those who entered the Valleyside school system in kindergarten, first, or second grade is still limited in English as a high school student. One in three of those who came in 3rd or 4th grade is still limited. For those arriving in 5th grade or later from either India or Pakistan only one in ten is designated as fluent in English as a high school student, grades 9 through 12 combined.13/

Table 11. English Langauge Proficiency, by Years in U.S. Schools: Punjabi Students Enrolled in Valleyside High, 1980-81.

Grade Entered	FES (in percent)	LES (in percent)	NES (in percent)	TOTAL (N)
K-2	77.46	18.31	4.23	(71)
3-4	66.67	25.00	8.33	(24)
5-6	12.50	75.00	12.50	(24)
7-8	10.34	48.28	41.38	(29)
9-10	6.67	51.11	42.22	(45)
11-12	---	50.00	50.00	(6)
Total	40.20	38.69	21.11	(199)

FES = Fluent English LES = Limited English NES = Non English
Table omits students born and/or educated in England and Fiji.

13. Students educated in Fiji and England were excluded from the analysis since they generally arrive in the U.S. fluent, or nearly fluent, in English.

Language proficiency in high school is more closely associated with the grade in which a student entered American schools than the number of years the student has lived in the United States. While two thirds of those who entered the Valleyside system in grades 3 and 4 are judged fluent in English, ony one in eight of those who entered the system in grade five or six is designated as FES in high school. Two thirds of the 9th and 10th grade students who entered Valleyside schools in grade 3 or 4 are FES, while only one quarter of the 11th and 12th grders who entered in 5th or 6th are FES. Both groups have been in American schools for 5 to 7 years.14/

The same pattern was found to hold true with Mexican American students attending Valleyside High. Two thirds of the 9th and 10th grade students who entered American schools in 3rd or 4th grade were judged FES in high school, contrasted with one third of the 11th and 12th grade students who entered in 5th or 6th grade. Again, both groups had been in the system from 5 to 7 years. Overall, a much higher percentage of Mexican American students are fluent in English than Punjabi, since many more were born in the U.S., or have received all their schooling here. Seventy-three percent are classified as FES, compared with 40 percent of the Punjabis. Only 5 percent of the Mexican Americans are categorized as NES and 23 percent as LES. See Table 12.

Students whose English skills are limited receive special instruction in English-as-a-second- language.15/ Valleyside High offers ESL classes for three different ability levels. The first is geared to students newly arrived from a foreign country who have had very little background in English. High school students whose scores indicate their command of English is equivalent to that of a "second grader" or less are placed in ESL 1 classes for 3 instructional

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14. Neither group had received systematic or intensive assistance in learning the English language. Beginning in the late 1970s, the Valleyside School District implemented district-wide programs in bi-lingual education for Punjabi speakers and English-as-a-second-language instruction. To determine the impact of these programs, the district will need to carry out a longitudinal evaluation of the English proficiency of students who have passed through them.

15. Several Valleysider parents objected to the concept of English as a second language because they feel that the schools should emphasize its importance as the first language of this country. No ranking in importance should be inferred from the title of the course. ESL refers instead to a methodology for language instruction. English must be taught differently to students who are learning it as their second or third language than to those who are native speakers. Punjabis themselves consider the learning of English in school a primary need.

periods per day. Most also are in special sections of math, science, and social studies geared to their level of English proficiency, Students whose test scores show them to have a "third or fourth grade" command of English are placed in ESL 2 for two periods each day. Those functioning in English at the "5th or 6th grade" level may be assigned to ESL 3, or they may be placed in a section of "basic English skills." Once students are able to pass the writing portion of the Proficiency Test they move on to take English 1A.16/

Table 12. English Langauge Proficiency, by Years in U.S. Schools: Mexican American Students Enrolled in Valleyside High, 1980-81.

Grade Entered	FES (in percent)	LES (in percent)	NES (in percent)	TOTAL (N)
K-2	83.44	14.57	1.97	(151)
3-4	62.57	37.50	0.00	(8)
5-6	16.67	75.00	8.33	(12)
7-8	40.00	40.00	20.00	(10)
9-10	20.00	50.00	30.00	(10)
11-12	---	---	---	(0)
Total	72.77	22.51	4.71	(191)

FES = Fluent-English LES = Limited-English NES = Non-English

During the spring semester 1981, 42 percent of all Punjabi students were enrolled in ESL classes. They comprised 77 percent of all students receiving ESL instruction. The remainder were Mexican Americans, with the exception of 5 students recently arrived in Valleyside from countries other than Mexico and India. Although most ESL students have arrived in the U.S. fairly recently, some have received all or almost all of their formal education in Valleyside, as shown in

16. School District policy targets "any child who has a primary language other than English and who falls below the 40th percentile in a standardized test in reading and lnaguage" for ESL instruction. Students are first identified through the District's "home language survey" and categorized as FES, LES, or NES based on a "language assessment battery." One hour of ESL instruction is required of all target students and may not be waived by parents (Memo dated 10/26/81, File: DI-81/82-128).

Table 13. There is, understandably, a close correlation between students designated as limited- or non-English-speaking and those assigned to ESL classes in high school. There is also a clear relationship between English fluency and the number of college preparatory courses taken by Punjabi students.

Table 13. Punjabi Students, Grades 9-12, Receiving ESL Instruction at Valleyside High, By Years of U.S. Schooling (in percent).

	Year Entered U.S. Schools					
	K-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9-10	11-12
(N)	(71)	(24)	(24)	(29)	(45)	(6)
ESL Classes	14.1	37.5	87.5	82.8	97.8	83.3

Omits students educated in England and Fiji.

E. College Preparatory Classes

Entrance requirements vary widely between different institutions in California's system of higher eduction. Graduation from high school or a minimum age of 18 are the only requirements for admission to a community college. Admission to a state university or college is currently limited to students who are in the top third of their graduating class according to mark-point-average and scores on a college entrance test. Beginning in 1984 students will also be required to have completed four years of high school English and two years of high school math (Cage, 1981). Present requirements for admission to the University of California also require four years of college preparatory English and two of math. In addition students must have taken U.S. history, one laboratory science, and two years of a foreign language, plus meet other requirements, including grades and test scores (Savage, 1982).

We have tabulated the number of college preparatory courses taken by all Punjabi seniors (Class of 1981), regardless of English language proficiency or years of American schooling. Courses counted as "college preparatory" are the English, math, and science classes listed on Table 9, plus U.S. history and all foreign languages. Findings are presented in Table 14. The large majority (73 percent) of LES and NES students takes no more than 2 college preparatory courses during their years at Valleyside High. FES students, however, take an

average of 7 college prep classes. Two of those in the sample took twice that number.

Table 14. Punjabi Students, Class of 1981: Total Number of College Preparatory Courses Taken in High School, by English Proficiency.

No. of Courses	FES N	FES %	LES N	LES %	NES N	NES %	Total N	Total %
11-15	3	16.7	-	0.0	-	0.0	3	6.8
7-10	7	38.9	-	0.0	-	0.0	7	15.9
3-6	8	44.4	7	33.3	-	0.0	15	34.1
0-2	-	0.0	14	66.7	5	100.0	19	43.2

FES = Fluent English LES = Limited English NES = Non English

About half of the Punjabi students who entered Valleyside schools in either first or second grade took 7 or more college preparatory courses in high school and nearly one third took 11 or more during their four years (see Table 15). Punjabi boys, however, completed many more advanced science and mathematics courses than Punjabi girls (see Table 16) and more also than their Valleysider counterparts (see Table 9). School records for the Classes of 1981, 1982, and 1983 combined revealed that 44 percent of the Punjabi boys took three years each of high school science and math and somewhat over one third went on to take a fourth year. Only 14 percent of the Punjabi girls (N=22) completed a third year of either science or math and fewer still a fourth year. No similar disparity between the sexes was found to exist within the Valleysider group.17/

For the Valleysider students, as Table 17 indicates, there is a strong positive correlation between the grades received and the number of college preparatory courses taken in high school. No similar relationship between grades and courses exists for the Punjabi students. The major distinction between the Valleysider and Punjabi groups is that the limited-English-speaking Punjabi students take almost no college preparatory courses. Once Punjabi students acquire

17. Approximately the same number of Valleysider males and females take three years of science and math; somewhat more males than females take a fourth year.

Table 15. Punjabi Students Raised in the U.S.: Total Number of College Preparatory Courses Taken in High School, by Sex (in percent).

No. of Courses	Males	Females	Total
11-15	44.4	13.6	30.6
7-10	11.1	36.4	22.4
3-6	37.0	40.9	38.8
0-2	7.4	9.1	8.2

N = 49 (29 male, 22 female)
Includes Valleyside High Classes of 1981, 1982, and 1983.

Table 16. Punjabi Students Raised in the U.S.: Percent of Students Completing Each Instructional Level, by Sex.

Department	Males	Females	Total
English			
Year 1 (1A, 1R, 1B)	96.3	99.0	97.9
Year 2 (2A, 2B)	92.6	86.4	89.8
Year 3 (190, 200, 201)	55.5	54.5	55.1
Year 4 (202)	29.6	9.1	20.4
Mathematics			
Year 1 (algebra 1)	70.4	63.6	67.3
Year 2 (geometry)	59.3	36.4	48.9
Year 3 (algebra 2)	44.4	13.6	30.6
Year 4 (trig/analysis)	37.0	4.5	22.4
Science			
Year 1 (I.P.S.)	66.7	81.8	73.5
Year 2 (biology 1)	55.6	40.9	48.9
Year 3 (chemistry)	44.4	13.6	30.6
Year 4 (bio 2/physics)	37.0	9.1	24.5

Includes all Punjabi students, Classes of 1981-83, who entered Valleyside schools in grade one or two. N=49 (29 male; 22 female).

the necessary skills in English to pursue regular academic classes, the gap not only closes, but Punjabi boys take more science and math than their Valleysider classmates.18/ Many of the Punjabi boys who take the more advanced science and math classes aspire to careers in electronics, engineering, or computer science.

Table 17. Valleysiders, Class of 1981: Number of College Preparatory Courses Taken, By Rank in Class (in percent).

	Rank in Class				
No. of Courses	Top Quarter	2nd Quarter	3rd Quarter	4th Quarter	Total
11-15	85.7	25.0	9.1	0.0	25.6
7-10	14.3	41.7	27.3	22.2	28.2
3-6	0.0	33.3	54.5	66.7	41.0
0-2	0.0	0.0	9.1	11.1	5.1

Omits students attending continuation high schools.

F. Standardized Test Scores

The final quantitative measure of academic success investigated in the course of our research was achievement on standardized tests. The Valleyside School District uses a national secondary-level testing program to assess basic skills proficiency in reading, writing, and mathematics. The minimal level of proficiency essential for high school graduation is determined locally by the school district.

Our analysis of proficiency test results centered on three areas. First, we looked at the number of students who passed the tests the first time they took them. Second, we looked at the number of times students had to take the tests to achieve passing scores. And third, we compared test scores in Valleyside with those of a national sample.

18. Including the computer science, which was recently introduced into the Valleyside High curriculum.

A local committee, comprised of district personnel, parents, and students, established the scores needed to pass the tests in Valleyside. The passing scores, which, in the view of the school district, reflect community norms, represent the minimum levels of proficiency acceptable for high school graduation. As it turned out, the committee recommended and the School Board adopted passing scores in reading and writing which are significantly lower than the score required in mathematics. For math the passing score is set slightly above the 50th percentile level for a national sample of 8th and 9th graders. For reading and writing the scores are set at the 23rd and 20th percentiles respectively. It is not surprising, therefore, that a larger proportion of students pass the reading and writing tests as junior high students than pass the mathematics test.

Valleyside students now routinely take the proficiency tests for the first time in 7th or 8th grade. The graduating classes of 1981 and 1982, however, first took the tests in 9th and 10th grade, the year in which the Proficiency Tests were implemented by the School District. Our findings, therefore, seperate students into two groups, as follows:

> Group 1: Students in the classes of 1981 and 1982, most of whom took the tests initially in their 9th or 10th grade. Some recent arrivals from India first took the tests as juniors and seniors.
>
> Group 2: Students in the classes of 1983 and 1984, most of whom took the tests initially in their 7th or 8th grade. Some recent arrivals first took the tests as 9th and 10th graders.

For purposes of analysis these two groups are compared with a national sample of 8th and 9th graders. Group 1 students were somewhat older when they took the test and Group 2 students somewhat younger than students in the national sample.19/

Test results for Valleysiders compare favorably with the national samples, as shown in Table 18. The percentage of Valleysiders in Group 1 who passes the tests the first time they take them is equal to the national average in math and somewhat higher in reading and

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19. We have analyzed test results for both groups because Group 1 includes the students in our senior interview samples, but is unusual in that students took the tests after they had begun high school. Beginning with the Class of 1983, all students take the tests initially as junior high students, as was the case with Group 2. Further Group 2 students differ from Group 1 students because those limited in English received some special assistance in their upper elementary and junior high, following the District's expansion of its ESL program. Group 1 students received little formal assistance through ESL classes.

Table 18. Proficiency Tests, Valleyside Unified School District: Students Whose First Scores Were Above Passing, by Ethnic Group and National Comparison.

Passing (Scaled Scores)	National Sample Grades 8 and 9 % Above	Group 1		Group 2	
		Valleysiders (N=90) % Above	Punjabis FES (N=39) % Above	Valleysiders (N=88) % Above	Punjabis FES (N=54) % Above
Math = 155	45.0	44.4	33.3	40.9	22.2
Reading = 135	77.0	85.6	51.3	76.7	67.3
Writing = 130	80.0	88.6	74.4	73.9	66.7

FES = Fluent English Speaker

writing. Group 2 Valleysiders score somewhat lower than the national average in math and writing, but equal it in reading. Table 18 also presents test results for fluent-English-speaking Punjabis. A smaller percentage of Punjabi students in both Groups 1 and 2 passed the proficiency tests the first time they took them than did the Valleysider or national samples. The differences were greatest for Group 1 in reading and for Group 2 in mathematics.20/

Table 19 presents our findings for students classified as limited and non-English proficient by the School District. As would be expected, these students have a great deal of difficulty passing the tests, although nearly one in five of the older LES students (Group 1) did pass the mathematics and writing tests the first time they took them. Almost no students classified as NES were able to pass the tests. That any were able to pass is, we believe, the result of misclassification or some other irregularity.

Punjabi students who had been in the system since first or second grade did about as well on the tests as those classified as FES. Group 1 students did a little better, especially in writing. Group 2 students did a little worse, however, especially on the reading and writing tests. This is understandable since, as noted in Table 11, one fifth of the students who entered the system in K-2 were still classified LES as high school students.

The proficiency tests are administered two times each year. Since students are permitted to take the tests as many times as necessary to pass them, we also examined how many times students in fact were taking them.21/ Almost all Group 1 Valleysiders and close to 90 percent of Group 2 Valleysiders passed the reading and writing tests either the first or second time they took them. FES Punjabis fared about the same, although Group 2 students had a little more difficulty with the writing test (only 81 percent had passed by their second attempt). Both Valleysiders and Punjabis had more trouble with the math test, which, since the passing score is significantly higher, is to be expected. In general, few fluent English speakers have difficulty meeting the District's standards for minimum proficiency.

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20. Since students' English language proficiency is reevaluated once or twice each year, some of the those shown as FES in our analysis may in fact have been classified as LES when they first took the proficiency tests. It was not possible to match students' English fluency classification with the year they first took the tests, as district efforts to identify limited-English-speakers have become much more extensive in recent years. Quite possibly test results would have been somewhat higher for Punjabi students had we been able to control more rigorously for English fluency.

21. Three versions of the tests are administered in rotation.

Table 19. Proficiency Test Results: Punjabi Students Whose First Scores Were Above Passing, by Language Proficiency.

Passing (Scaled Scores)	Group 1			Group 2		
	FES (N=39) % Above	LES (N=35) % Above	NES (N=15) % Above	FES (N=54) % Above	LES (N=44) % Above	NES (N=28) % Above
Math = 155	33.3	22.9	6.7	22.2	2.3	0.0
Reading = 135	51.3	11.4	6.7	67.3	11.4	0.0
Writing = 130	74.4	20.0	13.3	66.7	13.6	3.6

FES = Fluent English Speakers LES = Limited English Speakers NES = Non English Speakers

With the LES students, however, approximately 40 percent had taken the reading and writing tests 4 or more times before passing. Nearly 80 percent of the Group 2 LES students had taken the math test 4 or more times before passing, or had not yet passed as of June 1981. Some LES students had taken the tests as many as 6 or 7 times before finally passing them. Few NES students, as would be expected, had passed any of the tests regardless of how many times they had been encouraged to try.

The final aspect of our analysis of proficiency test results involves comparing the distribution of Valleyside High scores with those of the national sample. Students scores were grouped to parallel those of the national sample quartiles. As Table 20 reveals, the Valleyside students compared favorably with the national sample of 8th and 9th graders, with Group 1 (the older students) doing somewhat better, except in writing where only 18 percent had scores above 170, compared to 25 percent of the national sample. Group 2 (the younger students) did somewhat less well, although 23 percent had scores above 170 in math.22/

We have also compared scores received by Punjabi and Mexican American students with those in the national sample, restricting our analysis to those students who have been raised in the United States.23/ Many fewer Punjabi students than Valleysiders score above 170 in math, writing, or reading, with Group 1 Punjabis fairing poorest in reading and Group 2 in math. Conversely, many more Punjabi students score below 130 than is true for either Valleysiders, or the national sample. Even though these students have received all, or almost all, of their eduction in Valleyside schools, they do not demonstrate the same level of achievement in reading, writing, and

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22. Valleyside also has a good record in math when compared with national and state samples on the Scholastic Aptitiude Test (SAT) taken by students seeking college admission. Every year from 1975 through 1981 Valleyside students taking the math SAT have scored at least 24 points higher than both the national and state average. In 5 of these 7 years Valleyside students have also scored above national and state samples on the verbal segment of the SAT, although in some years the differences were slight. Approximately one quarter of each year's graduating class takes the SAT test.

23. School District personnel are aware that standardized tests scores for minority students, especially those recently arrived in the United States, may be lowered as a result the tests' cultural bias. This is undoubetedly a factor in the results reported here and may lower scores for Punjabi and Mexican American students, even those who have been in the United States all or most of their lives. We do not feel, however, that cultural bias is the only cause for the differences reported between the mainstream and minority students.

Table 20. Distribution of Proficiency Test Scores: Valleyside Unified School District by Ethnic Group and Year Entered American Schools, Compared to National Sample Quartiles.

Scaled Scores	National Sample Grades 8 and 9 By Quartile	Group 1			Group 2		
		Valleysiders (N=90)	Punjabis K-2 (N=30)	Mex. Am. K-2 (N=75)	Valleysiders (N=88)	Punjabis K-2 (N=48)	Mex. Am. K-2 (N=82)
Mathematics							
171 up	25.0%	25.6%	13.3%	8.0%	22.7%	8.3%	3.7%
151-170	25.0	25.6	23.3	21.3	22.7	20.8	8.5
131-150	25.0	31.1	23.3	26.7	25.0	27.1	41.5
100-130	25.0	17.8	40.0	44.0	29.5	43.8	46.3
Writing							
171 up	25.0	18.2	10.0	5.3	15.9	6.2	2.4
156-170	25.0	31.8	30.0	21.1	28.4	14.6	8.5
136-155	25.0	32.9	26.7	34.2	21.6	22.9	34.1
100-135	25.0	17.0	33.3	39.5	34.1	56.3	54.9
Reading							
171 up	25.0	26.7	10.0	5.2	15.6	8.2	4.9
159-170	25.0	24.4	20.0	23.4	25.6	12.2	12.3
137-158	25.0	34.4	26.7	31.2	34.4	30.6	39.5
100-136	25.0	14.4	43.3	40.3	24.4	49.0	43.2

Passing scores in Valeyside are: math 155; writing 130; reading 135.

mathematics as the Valleysiders. When we controlled for English fluency the findings were very similar. Group 1 FES students actually did less well than Group 1 students who had been in American schools since K-2. Group 2 FES students, however, did somewhat better than their K-2 counterparts.

The Mexican American students did less well than the Punjabis in both math and writing and roughly the same in reading. Far fewer than half of the Mexican American students score above the 50th percentile on any one of the tests. Many more than one-quarter score below the 25th percentile. As is also the case for the Punjabis, over 80 percent of these students are classified by the school district as fluent-English-speakers and most entered the Valleyside system, as opposed to other American schools, in kindergarten or first grade. Explanation for the Mexican American performance patterns lies beyond the scope of this report.

G. Summary

We have analyzed four different types of quantitative indicators of student success in school: high school graduation, grades, courses, and standardized test scores. In the case of grades, Punjabi students, on the whole, do as well as their mainstream counterparts regardless of English fluency or years in American schools. Findings, in the case of graduation, were limited to samples of students whom the school district listed as "twelfth graders" in September 1980. Of those sampled, more Punjabis than Valleysiders received their high school diplomas, with one fifth of the former graduating a semester early. None of the Valleysider students elected to graduate early; those who had met all their requirements by January preferred to remain in high school for the final semester of their senior year. Nearly one fourth of the Valleysider boys opted for an "adult education diploma," which requires fewer course credits than the regular high school diploma.

We found major differences between Valleysiders and Punjabis with respect to courses taken in high school, with many Punjabi students taking no, or almost no high school level classes in science, math, or English. The limited- and non-English-speaking Punjabi students (60 percent of all Punjabis attending Valleyside High), unable to gain entry into the more advanced academic classes, take only general education or English-as-a-second-language classes. Two thirds of the Punjabis who entered American schools in 5th or 6th grade were still limited in English as high school students, and thus unable to compete academically, as were even higher percentages of those who had arrived more recently.

As would be expected, LES and NES students also do very poorly on the proficiency tests in reading, writing, and mathematics. Even the Punjabi students whom the school district has classified as fluent-

English-speakers (FES), demonstrate a lower level of proficiency in these areas than their mainstream classmates. This discrepancy holds true as well for the Punjabi youngsters who have been in Valleyside schools since first grade.

Punjabi students raised and educated in Valleyside, in contrast to newer arrivals, pursue an academic program very similar to that of their Valleysider peers, each group, on average, taking seven "college preparatory" courses over the four years of high school. Some take double this number, pursuing pregressively more advanced courses each year in preparation for college. The Punjabi boys who had entered Valleyside schools in grade one or two, as a group, pursued a more demanding course of study than either the Punjabi girls or the Valleysiders, male or female. More, for example, took such classes as chemistry, physics, and math analysis. No correlation was found between Punjabi parents' education level, income, or English fluency and their children's performance in school.

In the next five sections of the report we present our analysis of these academic patterns, exploring both the barriers to academic achievement in high school and the factors which contribute to school success. We shall also examine the meaning of "success" in school from the perspectives of students, parents, and teachers, and from our perspective as outside researchers, in an effort to describe the interrelation amoung cultural and structural variables influencing educational performance for immigrant minority and mainstream majority alike.

CHAPTER SEVEN

HOME-SCHOOL LINKAGES

Parents, students, and teachers agree on the broad purposes of formal education. Schools should provide students with basic skills, contribute to their social and physical development, and help prepare them to be successeful in later life. More specifically, education at the high school level, should provide students with skills which will help them secure employment and should provide college preparatory courses for those planning to pursue higher education. Parents, almost universally, state that formal education is important to success in later life, yet teachers and administrators assert that the lack of parental support for education is the single greatest barrier to school success. In this section we examine more fully parents' beliefs about education, looking closely at the nature of home-school linkages for both Valleysiders and Punjabis. We shall describe differences between the two groups, as well as variations within each group, which, we believe, bear upon the apparent discrepancy concerning parentsal support for formal education, and which, in turn, bear upon student performance in school.

A. Valleysider Perspectives on School Success

Parents' Beliefs

Valleysider parents emphasize the importance of acquiring a basic level of competence in the three "R's," reading, writing, and arithmetic. They are "foundations," parents say. "Everyday you use the basics. You use percentages," for example, "when you go to the grocery store." Some parents judge success in high school by their child's completion of the required courses. One mother noted that her daughter was "doing real well in school" because she had finished all

her "basic classes," like English and history. A number of other parents shared this attitude.

Valleysiders stress that schools prepare children for the future by providing the skills they need "to get along in society," to "deal with other people," "to become self-sufficient," and to "deal with life itself." Education, they say, "establishes you for going out into the world and to make your way" as a productive citizen, able to "do your part." Children are taught, parents comment, that education is for their own benefit, to prepare them for their future, equipping them with the tools they will need to find their way. "The whole rest of his life," one father noted of his son, "depends on his education. You can only go as far in life as your education will allow you." This man went on to qualify his statement, however, by observing that the rule was not absolute.

One woman noted that the goal of education is to make one a "cultured and civilized person" which, in her opinion, goes beyond "basic knowledge in basic subjects" and includes the "humanities and fine arts." Education, from this parent's perspective, produces "well rounded" people with enough knowledge to enjoy concerts and plays. While other Valleysiders may agree, in an ideal sense, with this view, few respond in a similar fashion to questions regarding the "purposes for going to school" or the role of schools in "preparing young people for adult life."

Most Valleysiders see a basic education, together with a high school diploma, as a necessity, but they are less sure about the need for higher education. "Of course every parent wants his child to go on with [his] education," is a common response to the question, "How far would you like your child to go in school." Many parents say, however, that they do not stress higher education with their children. Responses to the question, "Do you feel there is a close fit between formal education and the job that someone can expect to have?" suggest that other qualities, beyond one's schooling, may be equally or more important from the perspective of Valleysiders.

Parents comment, for example, that "even four years of college" is "no guarantee" of a job, and that while "degrees may help," one still must have "the opening." Such views may be prompted, in part, by the realities of the current economic situation, but Valleysider parents themseleves have gotten ahead, for the most part, without college. More necessary than degrees, most feel, is a willingness to knuckle down and do the job. Also, as parents point out, it depends on what you want. "Hard labor" jobs are "very, very good paying," one mother observed. Her son, who was earning good pay working on an oil rig, reacted to schools, and offices, as though they were prisons, but thrived on outdoor work. Another man noted that not all children are alike. His eldest son, who disliked school intensely and had not attended college, was doing well as a contractor, while his younger son, a top student in high school, planned to enter the business world

only after finishing a graduate degree in business administration or computer science.

Once students have completed their "basics," parents are pleased that they have an opportunity to receive some vocational training. "Not everyone is equipped mentally to go to college," one mother commented. Non-college bound students need vocational training because, as she observed, "they've got to make a living just like everybody else." Many of the high school's vocational courses combine work experience with classroom instruction. Valleysiders value this, since, as they see it, school trains you "to abide by the basic fundamentals of life, show up in time for work, be neatly groomed, take a shower." Parents support the high school's vocational program and the education it provides. Even in the eyes of some parents of college-bound students, it is a regrettable fact that their children have less chance than their classmates to take vocational courses.

In sum, most Valleysider parents believe that schools help prepare young people to take care of themselves and to become responsible and self-reliant adults. Parents realize that soon their high school senior will be going out into the world to make his or her own way. Some may live at home for a while longer, but the day is fast approaching when young people will need to take responsibility for life apart from their parents. A high school education, parents hope, will help equip their child to make the transition from child to adult. Many parents, in fact, view their children, as they approach their eighteenth birthday, as basically adults who have to take responsibility for their own actions. This point was frequently symbolized during our research by Valleysider parents saying that their child, rather than they, should sign our form granting permission to participate in the research. It was further supported by high school rules which give students at age 18 the right to sign all forms for themselves. A parent's signature, or approval, is no longer necessary.

Many Valleysiders note that success in life depends on the individual. To get ahead one must have both "initiative" and "drive." "Opportunity," they recognize, is also an essential ingredient. Some parents observed, more frequently in reference to sons than daughters, that a college degree is necessary in order to "advance." Yet, even to those who believe that "degrees" are a prerequisite for certain jobs, the more important keys to success are "motivation" and "being into the right thing at the right time."

Neither do Valleysiders see a necessary relationship between degrees and income. While education may be important, parents recognize that in today's market it has to be in the right field or "you are probably going to get stung." One parent, who himself has done extremely well economically with no college degree, observed that advanced education tends to pull families apart, since young people with professional training frequently have to relocate to pursue their

fields. Parents, as a consequence, may rarely see their adult children, and grandchildren. Other parents note that mechanics make more money than school teachers. One observed that "a lot of guys I work with...have degrees and we get the same pay."

A few Valleysiders, however, feel that career opportunities which may look attractive to a high school graduate can become dead ends after only a few years and that those who wish to "shoot for the supervisory or management" jobs must have at least a four-year college degree. Some Valleysider parents who themselves have done well financially without college degrees also point out, "it took us twenty years to get there" and things are different "nowadays." Some of these parents say they urge their children to excell in school, although their children, they feel, do not always heed their advice.

In referring to the value of their own schooling, the responses of Valleysider parents were mixed. Some felt handicapped by their limited education, women in particular. Others felt that the lack of higher education had not hindered them. Quite a few had gone back to school as adults, both for general education and to improve job-related skills. Several Valleysider parents were currently enrolled in classes at the local community college and one man had recently completed his B.A. at a nearby university, not because he needed it for work, but, as he explained it, because he wanted a liberal arts background to "enhance" his life.

In sum, Valleysider parents want their children to get a good educational foundation and believe high school is a must. About college they are more mixed. Other qualities, many note, beyond formal education are the keys to success. The parents assume, furthermore, that if their children are not interested in college immediately following high school, as many are not, they can always go back and take courses at a later date when they have more work experience and know better what they wish to study. Parents' perspectives on education relate closely to their own experience in getting ahead and to their assumptions about raising young people to make it on their own.

Barriers to Educational Success

Valleysiders are generally well satisfied with the educational program at the high school. Even those who feel their own child failed to acquire the desired tools and knowledge, praise the Valleyside High curriculum. The barriers to success in school, according to most parents, relate more to lack of motivation and interest on the student's part, or to the inadequacy of children's preparation for high school, than to the shortcomings of the instructional program. In discussions of their child's schooling, parents frequently remarked that the courses were there, the teachers and counselors were there, and that the system works well for those students who arrive in ninth grade with the requisite basic skills, who know what they want and

need from high school, and who "go for it." Students who fit this description, it is true, have few problems in high school. Unfortunately, however, from the perspective of many Valleysider parents, their own children either lacked motivation, were bored by their high school classes, were too shy to ask for assistance, or were unable to handle the academic demands of high school due to poor language and math skills.

Basic skills. Referring to the need for command of the "basics," one mother commented:

> They have to have the foundations. If they don't, when they get to high school, they may as well forget it, because they're too embarrassed and they just can't hack the program.

Such students, she said, frequently drop out. Our sample included several who fit this description, although not all dropped out. Some did leave without finishing and, according to their parents, felt "real discouraged" because they could not keep up with their classmates. Others remained through twelfth grade, but failed to graduate. At least two had been in "special education" classes in elementary school, according to their parents, but in high school had been placed in "regular" classes. One, at least, had received tutoring in elementary school.

In another case, the parents had not arranged a tutor for their child because they felt it was the school's job to teach the basics. They attributed their son's sense of low self esteem to the fact that his school experience made him feel dumb. The schools, they observed, overlook the "mediocre" students, thereby creating in them a sense of rejection. These parents also were upset that their son could not bring all his books home from high school. "I would think they would have to crack the book," the father noted, "to turn on that light and say, 'Ah ha! I got it.'" Looking back, he wished that years earlier school officials had held their son back a year. "Zap him. It would have zapped us, too. When you don't hear from the school until it is too late, then it's unfortunate." This man was referring to the news, recently received, that due to a shortage of credits his son would not be graduating from high school. Clearly, however, the school system had tried to alert the parents to a problem years earlier when they recommended tutoring. Somehow, though, home and school had not joined forces to resolve the difficulty.

The boy, when he leraned he would not graduate, told his parents:

> You know, you really left me out....I'm the ugliest in the family. I'm the stupidest in the family. I have no athletic ability. I have no musical ability.

The student, in fact, had excelled in art, but this was small comfort to the rejection he felt.

Most students do graduate, even those who have felt handicapped throughout high school by poor skills in reading, writing, and math. Several parents even questioned how their children could receive diplomas and yet not be more proficient in basic math and basic English. How can they qualify for a job, one parent queried. "Who's going to take care of them?" another asked, about those who can barely read, write, or spell. "Nobody," he answered. The "solution," another remarked, "must begin in kindergarten."

Reticence. Teachers are willing to assist those who request help, parents note. Problems arise, however, when students need help, but are too shy to ask. Several parents observed that their sons and daughters had fulfilled all requirements for graduation and had caused no problems during high school, but had had a less rewarding experience, both academically and socially, than would have been the case were they more outgoing. Parents realize that each teacher and each counselor in high school is responsible for large numbers of students. The system, nevertheless, overlooks the reticent child. One mother said:

> If you have a problem and you ask for help, [counselors] will help you, but I don't think that [they] would initiate it, and I don't think they have time to do it....[Our son] is shy and he kind of sits back and the teacher always notices the one that is real smart, or the one that is real aggressive. And [our son] doesn't fit those categories, so therefore he is kind of overlooked.

While several Valleysider interviews described a similar experience, few parents knew what could have been done to improve their child's educational experiences.

Some parents, a small minority, initiate contact themselves with high school faculty members to request help for their child. One parent recounted the immediate change in her son's attitude after she had privately contacted his shop teacher:

> I went over and asked the teacher if he would just stop by and ask [my son] if he needed any help or anything, and he did. And it was the biggest change! My gosh! First thing [my son] said when he came home, 'Gee, [my shop teacher] came and talked to me and asked me how I was doing!' And it just made such a difference.

This mother regretted that she had not made contact with another shop teacher whose class her son had earlier dropped. The son believed, as she described it, tha "the teacher wasn't interested enough to give

him any help." Had he been interested, the son felt, he would have "walked around and said, 'Are you having trouble? Would you like some help?'" It was her son's "own fault," she noted, for not telling the teacher he wanted help, but "it's one of those things that kids don't do sometimes." Looking back on the situation the mother felt certain that the teacher would gladly have helped her son had she brought the problem to his attention.

Motivation. Related to the problems of shyness and reticence are those of motivation and initiative. The resources are there, for the students who "are willing to learn," noted the mother of a top student. "There is so much available for any interest or need," said another; "all you have to do is reach out for it and, if you don't, it's not going to flop in your lap." This parent was upset that her daughter, a 3.0 student who had excelled in college preparatory classes, had not taken additional courses and joined in extra-curricular activities which would have benefitted and interested her. Quite a few parents whose children had done above average work, but who had not pushed themselves academically, were disappointed that their youngsters had pursued the path of least resistence. "My child is doing very well in school," one mother commented, but "he is not taking courses in accordance with his ability." Her explanation: "he is very lazy."

Other parents attributed students' lack of effort to laziness and to an attitude of "whatever I can get by with...is what I'm going to do." If it's a "tough course," one father observed, his son simply would not take it. "Education, is a lot of self discipline," this man noted; "there is a certain amount you have to do on your own." Another father related how he had not allowed his son to drop algebra without first having a conference with the boy's math teacher. The outcome, to the son's displeasure, was a period of tutoring before school each morning. The son had assumed he could take the easy way out but, with the solution of early morning tutoring, he had been able to catch up in a demanding course while also continuing to play varsity basketball after school.

Part of the problem, from the parents' perspective, is that their children have little sense of purpose. The problem of low motivation and lack of interest in course work touches students of all ability levels. Parents whose children have weak scholastic records tend to emphasize poor preparation in the "basics" and "reticence" as paramount problems. Others, whose children are able students, point instead to laziness and a lack of direction. Some fault their children for not taking advantage of the educational opportunities available to them. "It's not that the program isn't there. But it's a matter of developing the motivation." If one doesn't get off on the right foot in ninth grade, this parent believed, "then you're already off on those little tangents, cutting class and all the rest of it." Poor study skills and a lax academic attitude become a "habit," and

like any habit are hard to break. The solution, some Valleysider parents believe, is a more tightly structured high school program.

School Structure. A number of Valleysiders feel that they do all they can to encourage their children to study, to take tougher courses, even to attend their classes, but in so doing they feel they are bucking the system, which does not require such behavior on the part of students. "Maybe the school's hands are tied," one father commented, "but they don't seem to do anything, no detention, no punishment." "They have it," his son observed, "but it's very lax." This father was disturbed that his son missed classes as frequently as he did to pursue other interests, such as fishing, without penalty and, furthermore, that he was permitted to take part in school sports in spite of poor grades. The father felt school officials could have done more to back him up when he tried to enforce a more "disciplined" approach to education. In elementary school the boy had had "no problem," which his parents attributed to the "strict teacher supervision." Immediate action was taken, for example, when a student broke a rule. "They were on top of him. He created a problem, they called the parents in and it was always discussed." The father felt, however, that when his son got to high school, too much responsibility was placed upon the student. The son did not keep up with his assignments, cut classes, "got bored," and received poor grades.

Other parents observed that "if you're a party person, you go to school for socializing." These parents felt there was little they could do to buck the system. They would prefer that the high school require more rigorous attention to education, but felt there was little which parents or teachers could do if high school students choose not to study.

A number of Valleysiders were especially disturbed by problems related to attendance. They appreciated that is was difficult for a school with over 2,000 students to contact parents immediately when children missed classes, but felt something was definitely wrong with the system when word reached them so late that their child was unable to make up the missed work and pass the class, or, as was the case with older siblings of several students in our sample, was unable to graduate. Some of the problems most upsetting to parents related to a time several years previously when the high school, due to overcrowding, had scheduled each student with a free period during the day. Excessive cutting ensued, since it was impossible for school authorities to tell who was supposed to be in class and who was not. Lax class and school attendance, however, persist. Parents continue insistently to talk about the problems of the "unscheduled period era" as though it were the cause of current difficulties.

Teachers' Perspectives

Teachers and administrators note the same problems as parents. Students' lack of motivation, poor attitude toward school and learning, non-attendance, social distractions, and a history of failure at earlier grade levels are all frequently cited as reasons for difficulty in school. The greatest impediment to success in high school, however, from the teachers' perspective, is a lack of parental support for education. Most other problems, they believe, relate to this. Broadly interpreted, a lack of parental support includes a loss of control over the children's actions, too little discipline and supervision at home, and a general failure of parents to be involved in their child's education in any meaningful way. If little value is placed on formal education in the home, teachers feel, then it is exceedingly difficult to instill the discipline and motivation at school.

Also cited by teachers as barriers to success in high school are a turbulent and unpleasant home life, student immaturity, poor attitudes toward authority, and lack of plans for the future. Few mention poor teaching or lack of teacher motivation as problems, nor do they cite the structure of the educational system itself, or students' lack of innate ability as major factors impeding learning. Rather, most of the problems are ones which a closer partnership between home and school would help to resolve.

Teachers point out that it is difficult to require homework, especially in the slower track, level A, classes, because students simply do not do it. Because of absenteeism, furthermore, they find it difficult to keep theei classes moving at the desired pace. A lack of student effort and attentiveness to academic matters are often cited as major obstacles to the instructional process.

Students' Views

Valleysider students readily admit to disliking, or avoiding, the classes which they find "hard." For girls this means, generally, math and science classes, although several (12 percent) also included English in their list of "hardest" and "least liked" classes. Boys, too, list math, English, and science classes (in that order) as least liked and hardest. A few of the top students academically, however, both male and female, include these subjects among those they like the most. These classes, along with foreign languages, are those which generally require the most homework.

Valleysider responses to our questions on homework indicate the relatively low value which students attach to it. Only 41 percent of the Valleysider students responded "very important" to a question on homework. Among boys in the bottom half of the class only 14 percent

said "very important" and 43 percent said "usually not necessary," or "no need for it." We also asked students how often they studied after school hours and how much time they spent when they did do homework. Most girls (63 percent) say they study "some days," although nearly half of those in the top of the class study "nearly every day." A majority of boys, however, responded "almost never" to the question on study after school hours (37 percent of those in the top half and 64 percent of those in the bottom half). Similar patterns were revealed with regard to how long students study, if they do study. Only 10 percent of the boys, compared with 63 percent of the girls, said they spent an hour or more on homework.

Many students, once they have completed all courses required for graduation, avoid taking further science, math, and English classes. And, in their senior year, those students who are not bound directly for a four-year college, or scrambling to make up for deficiencies, deliberately take a light course load. Even if they plan to go to community college, they see no need to pursue college-preparatory courses; none is required, they realize, for admission. Senior year, they feel, is the time to "kick back" and enjoy one's self. Also, quite a few have part-time jobs and prefer an easy load to allow time for work and social activities.

In response to what classes they "liked the most" many boys list their shop classes. Girls are more mixed in their responses, but two-thirds include either math or English, and 43 percent mention either home economics, business, or art classes. In response to what they like most about school, the large majority of boys mention friends. Those in the top half of the class also mention "learning," or their courses. Girls, regardless of class rank, mention courses and friends, although two noted that they really did not like coming to school.

Valleysider youngsters, for the most part, are satisfied by their high school experience. They feel they have been able to take the courses of their choice. Most are content with their grades. Few note any difficulties. Most have enjoyed themselves socially and most feel positive about school. Students appear to have gained confidence from the jobs they have held during high school and believe they have a positive employment record upon which to build. In addition to specific office-type skills, a number of girls noted that they were "able to work with the public" and knew how to "get along with people." Boys, in addition to a wide variety of office and technical skills, emphasized "salesmanship" and the ability to "communicate with people." Almost all students responded to a question on job skills, although the question was number 115 on a very lengthy written questionnaire. Only one wrote, "None." Most Valleysiders feel confident about the "skills" which they can "sell to an employer."

Attendance

Teachers believe parents could and should do much more to support education, starting with class attendance. If students attend irregularly, teachers point out, it is difficult to keep a class moving together through the curriculum. Also, since quite a few high school classes have only one set of instructional materials, which must be shared by several class sections, students cannot readily make up missed work at home. Most vocational classes, furthermore, require students to work with special tools or machinery in class, or to be on the job to receive their training. Students who receive failing grades usually do so as a result of irregualr class attendance.

School officials feel they do what they can to contact parents as soon as an attendance problem is identified. Many parents, they feel, simply are not especially concerned with daily attendance. Parents, they believe, have given their children too much freedom and, in the process, have lost their authority to supervise and control their children's actions.

On the question, "Do you feel it's necessary to attend all your classes every day?" only 61 percent of the Valleysider students responded, "Yes, every day, unless I'm really sick." Of the boys in the bottom half of the class only 38 percent felt it was necessary to attend all classes. Students' actual attendance records reflect their attitudes. No Valleysider students in our sample had a perfect attendance record during their final year in school. The median number of days missed was 14, out of a total 175. Attendance for boys was related to academic standing; boys in the bottom half of the class, according to grades, missed twice as many days as those in the top half. For girls there was no such relationship.

Several parents noted that as long as their children maintained good grades they were not especially concerned about their missing an occasional day. They noted, too, that the school phones if a child has "been absent very much," but that the calls often come so long after the classes were missed, several weeks or more later, that they cannot recall whether there was, in fact, a legitimate reason for the absences. Many parents say they wish to be notified immediately if their child misses school without a valid excuse. Some parents, however, also admitted to being permisive about absenteeism, allowing other activities to take precedence. One parent, for example, wrote a note saying her son was sick for a week when, in reality, he had been vacationing in Hawaii.

> Rather than have me jeopardize his graduating, I said he was sick, and it really bothered me. Monday when he goes to school, he [is] all tanned....He was so sunburned, he looked sick.

The system is "a little too easy," the son observed. "You take your

note to the attendance office and...[get] an admit slip." This is how the school gets "their money," the student observed. It would be to the school's disadvantage not to accept notes documenting the "legitimacy" of absences, this young man realized, because the high school budget is based on average daily attendance figures. Unapproved absences cause the budget allotment to be reduced.

Other parents, whose children are doing less well academically, express a great deal more concern about absenteeism. Several became very emotional describing how excessive cutting had caused their child to fail a required class, and in two cases, fail to graduate from high school. One parent who was worried his daughter might be cutting, checked everyday with the attendance office to verify her presence. The daughter, however, had one of the student assistants in the attendance office alter her record. She missed the last two months of a required class and failed to graduate. Her parents were furious with her, but also blamed the teacher in question for not initiating some query to uncover the problem, before it was too late to take corrective action.

Teachers note that students in college preparatory and level B (fast track) classes have better attendance records. These observations were supported by analysis of attendance patterns in one teacher's classes over a twenty-day period. Over 50 percent of the remedial students were absent for three or more days during the first four weeks of the second semester, compared with 30 percent of the track A and 10 percent of the track B students.

Teachers also note that parents of college bound and track B students are, on the whole, more involved in their children's education. They are, for example, much more likely to participate in such affairs as the annual "Back-To-School Night," which provides parents a chance to attend each of their child's high school classes. Only about 5 percent of the parents of her remedial students attend, one teacher noted, compared with 30 percent of the parents whose children are in her A level classes, and more than 50 percent of those in her B level classes. The latter, she remarked, ask so many questions that she feels like she's "been on trial" when the evening is over. This, from her perspective, is "really good." She further notes that the B level students "are a joy to teach" and that "the parent turn-out shows you the difference right there."

Young people, parents observe, think they are beating the system by taking an easy course load, doing little homework, and cutting classes. In the end, however, they jeopardize their educational opportunity, some to the point of failing to receive their high school diploma. Parents ask why the school allows this to happen. Teachers ask why parents donot take more interest in their child's education. The reasons, we feel, relate in part to Valleysider views on preparing young people to be on their own. Parents and school officials alike urge students to take responsibility for decisions

regarding their education. Not all make wise decisions. Few Valleysider parents, furthermore, emphasize academic excellence as critical to their children's future opportunities.

B. Punjabi Perspectives on School Success

Parents' Beliefs

Punjabi parents state their beliefs about the value of eduction with great strength and feeling. "Education is the third eye," they say. "If you don't have knowledge, you cannot do anything....If you are blind yourself, how can you lead others?" The sense of importance which Punjabis place on formal education permeates the parents' interviews, whatever the parents' own educational background. First and foremost, parents stress the necessity of formal education for obtaining employment, but they also emphasize its broader value in helping one to make something of one's life. "If you study," one father said, for example, "you will be able to get a good job, and you will be able to stand on your feet." The phrase "stand on your feet" came up often in this connection and its importance in the Punjabi value sytem cannot be overemphasized. Punjabis "theories" of success, like Valleysiders', influence parents' beliefs about schooling, which, in turn, are communicated to their children.

Without literacy and mathematical competency, Punjabis point out, a person must depend on others for the most basic kinds of assistance. Several Punjabis noted that their education had made it easier for them to move to a new country, and that with education they had been able to travel without relying on others. "If someone is educated, no matter where he wants to go, he can go. He can fill out an application," one parent remarked. Others observed that "as much [education] as we have,...we use" and that with math skills "I don't need to ask anyone to do it for me."

Many parents have found their lack of formal education a serious handicap in the United States. One father, who himself had had no schooling, noted that "an illiterate person has no life in another country." He went on to say,

> In these countries if someone is illiterate then you can say that they are like animals. He is not able to speak the language and he cannot understand. He cannot read the signs....You can survive because there are educated people who are around who help you, but still the thing is that you...have to go and ask someone else to do it for you.

This kind of dependence on others is an uncomfortable feeling, especially for people who have a strong drive for self-reliance. In India the lack of schooling caused no such handicap, this father noted, because one could farm with little or no schooling. For mat-

ters requiring formal education he had relied on his older brother, who was a high school graduate.

Several Punjabi parents emphasized the more intrinsic and enduring rewards of education over the more functional aspects. "Money," one father stated," can be used up at any time, but education cannot." This man had himself been a teacher in India. Another, with similar views but little schooling, commented that "education is a thing which no one can steal away from you. Education is there for the rest of your life." A third parent noted that people can have money and land without education, but that education provides "satisfaction of the mind." Education, this man observed, allows a person to expand his knowledge "by reading books, discussion, and by listening."

Education and Punjabi Theories of Success

The meaning of success and the value of education for most Punjabis begin with good employment and a good income. These, as they see it, cannot usually be realized without formal education. "We have to waste our life in the fields," parents say, "but with a good education [our children] will be able to better their life." Those without schooling have no option but farm labor, parents say. Even those with a secondary education, or better, from schools in India, find employment opportunities in the United States restricted largely to farming. With an American education, however, they believe their children will not be "pushed around like we have been. They will be able to do work easily on their own." Many Punjabis express this conviction. With education their children will be able to find a "good job" and with it will be able to "lead an easy, happy life." One mother stated the relationship between education and jobs as follows: "The more educated [a person] is, the better the job he will have and the money will be higher." Most Punjabi parents support this view.

Punjabis admit that some of them have done well in farming even without formal eduction, but they attribute their success to "God's grace" and "good luck." Also, as they note, "farming has changed drastically in comparison to earlier times when one could...buy property and run the farm without any education." In America today, they point out, "you need a lot of reading and writing skills." Punjabis want a better and easier life for their children than they have had. They believe, as one of their basic guiding principles, that their children's education will be the key to their success. It is the role of parents to support the family, no matter how hard they must work, and it is the child's job to study.

Parents stress the importance of job-related skills for their children. Proficiency in English, they recognize, is absolutely essential; every Punjabi parent says this. Punjabis also support

vocational training for those who lack the ability to go onto higher education, They value welding, typing, the ROP courses, and work-experience assignments which provide practical on-the-job training in such fields as banking and police work.

> A child should learn a skill while in school so that he is prepared for a job. This is success--a child who is able to ...support himself after education....After a child has reached twelfth grade standard he should have a skill and if we cannot support him any longer, he should be able to find a good job and support himself. [Punjabi parent]

Basic skills in reading, writing, and math are important, parents realize, but educational success includes vocational skills.

Parents praise the ready availability of vocational courses at Valleyside High. Vocational education is very limited in India, and almost non-existent at the secondary level. They are pleased that American schools provide their children the opportunity to be exposed to many different vocations while pursuing a high school diploma.

Since most parents themselves have had little experience in weighing the advantages of different career possibilities, they rely heavily on teachers and counselors to guide their child into the area most appropriate to his or her abilities. "The teachers know more about this than we do," one father observed. Another Punjabi, the older sister of a student in our sample, noted the importance of students being actually taken around to see various job situations. In this way, she said, the students will develop "an interest." Should they dislike some kinds of work, they can change their course of study when they are still able to, "not when it is too late, not when they actually start working, and start hating what they are doing." Students should be exposed to factory work, she said, so that they might know the types of jobs available to those who do not study. Others also stress the importance of career goals. Only in this way, they noted, will the students know what subjects to take.

Punjabi parents realize that one must pursue a field in which jobs are available. Students, they say, must be encouraged to think about the opportunities while doing their training. Income, some parents note, does not always correlate directly with education. It depends also on "the chances" one has.

If young people do not apply themselves to their studies, Punjabis feel their chances for securing good jobs will be limited. They feel, too, that they are wasting money by keeping a non-serious student in school. A boy, for example, could earn $8,000 a year if he worked full time in the fields. Parents teach their children that they must work hard in school and that someday they will reap the rewards of their labor. If children do not pursue their studies, however, due either to lack of interest or ability, parents see no

reason to keep them in school. There is always work that they can do to help support the family. They point out, however, that with only a "simple education," one can only expect a "simple job."

When a Punjabi child does poorly in school, parents usually will fault the child. If a child is more interested in "play" and "clothes," then he or she cannot become successful.

> When you are sitting among peers, you should do your own work, not listen to anyone. If the child does not sit in "bad company," minds the school work, he will do well. Nobody is forcing the child to sit in "bad company." Do your work and show discretion with whom to sit and not to sit. Then the child is okay. If they wander around like the "baddies," what is the point then. It is not the fault of the school. What can they do? [Punjabi parent]

This parent went on to say that no one wants to have anything to do with "a bad son or daughter" and that if a child is a failure in school, "he will be a failure in the future, too." Success, he noted, requires "hard work." Other parents remarked similarly. The schools, they feel, treat all children the same. The child who wishes to learn, will learn. "But someone who does not wish to learn, then how can you teach this child?"

Attitudes such as these highlight the Punjabi perspective on getting ahead in school, and in life. One must take advantage of the opportunities available. Punjabis rarely blame the educational system, or the teachers, for a child's difficulties. Responsibility for learning rests, in the Punjabi view, with the individual. Punjabis are not naive about institutional and societal barriers to their success. They simply persevere, seeking ways to overcome obstacles in their path. Punjabi children are taught to do their best and to hold themselves accountable for their failures. If children fool around, squandering educational opportunities, they bear the consequences.

Parent Participation in the Educational Process

Parents were asked in the course of the interviews "What kinds of things do you <u>regularly</u> stress to your [twelfth grade] child about school matters?" Punjabi parents had much to say on this topic. Most frequently stressed were matters relating to grades, behavior, homework and attendance. Parents expect their children to bring home good grades. If they do not, they are urged to do better and urged, also, to request help from their teachers. "Everyday we ask them: what you have studied? What type of difficulties you have, in which subjects?...And to let the teachers know of their difficulties," one father explained. Queries and advice such as this are accompanied by constant reminders that young people should "be successful" and "work

hard." Their efforts will be rewarded, parents assure them, by an easier, happier life."

Punjabis expect their children's behavior in school to be exemplary. "Concentate on education," "listen and obey," "don't do bad things," parents instruct their children, regardless of age. Punjabis also counsel youngsters to "keep quiet, stay out of fights" and, in general, avoid trouble. "Don't bring quarrels home; have a good relationship with your peers; behave well with your teachers; [and do] not tease others" was the advice one young man received from his elder sister. Punjabis expect children to "get back home without any criticism from anyone else." Those who "waste" their lives, parents note, lose all respect.

> If you go the right way and have a good character, you will have a good name. People will say good things about [your] home, and the [Punjabi] community will get respect from other people. If you do bad deeds, you will give a bad name to your community, your home, your mother and father. [Punjabi parent]

The importance of upholding family respect serves as a strong incentive to "good behavior." Punjabi young people realize that their actions reflect not only on themselves, but their parents and entire family.

Notice of absence from class is considered a serious matter by Punjabi parents. They request school presonnel to phone them as soon as possible, if a child misses class. To cut one's classes, or wander about on the way home, means that a child is wasting time and that he or she is up to no good. The result, parents fear, will be failure in the future.

Homework is essential, Punjabi parents feel, to a child's progress. If one goes to school but does not study, "then there is no reason for going," parents comment. Parents ask children, including those of high school age, if they have done their work and may wake them early in the morning to complete assignments left unfinished the night before. Punjabis like their youngsters to bring school work home. When they do not, parents feel they have less ability to insist that children apply themselves to their education. Some Punjabi parents will call the school to request more homework, or instruct their child to do so. Most, however, simply ask their children if they have done their work. "We are uneducated and we don't know whether [our child] has or not," was a frequent response by parents. "Studying or not studying is up to the child....We just encourage them to learn."

Once children reach high school most have received more formal education than their parents. Even those whose parents are high school graduates know little about the American curriculum and few are, themselves, fluent in English. Responsibility for one's educa-

tion must rest with the child. If help is needed it must be sought from the teachers, unless there is a sibling or relative at home who has been educated in America. Parents urge children to put their education first, ahead of housework, jobs, and, most especially, social activities. The content of the education, in most cases, rests with the children and their school advisers.

Students who do not study know that "the fields are waiting." They know, too, that their parents will withdraw them from school, arrange an early marriage, and see to it that they "earn money every day." "Study properly," is the admonition; "otherwise there is a ladder." In other words, the child, like his or her parents, can pick peaches and contribute to the family income. Punjabi youngsters know from first-hand experience what farm labor means; it is not the life they choose for themselves.

In the few households where family members are well educated, parents and relatives may get more directly involved in what the child is studying and offer advice about the selection of courses. One well educated father, for example, told his sons that they must take English, math, and science each of their four years in high school. This father saw to it that no disruptions interfered with home work. Another father noted that his son was encouraged to "read other books," if no homework was given. The father had also stopped the boy from "wandering about outside" and supervised him in his school work at home. This particular young man had arrived from India in seventh grade, weak in English, but by his senior year was able to command "A's" and "B's" in English 2 and first year algebra.

Punjabis want their children to preserve "the good values in our culture." Parents worry that their children will adopt bad habits and attitudes from their Valleysider classmates, rather than having the wisdom to select what is good from American culture. "If we just follow them [white Americans], doing what they do, then we are going to be lost. We will fall," one father commented. On the other hand, he said, if "our just take up the good values and leave the rest, then we will keep our standards." This man felt that having come to the United States from india Punjabis must learn from both sets of experiences, remembering always their heritage. To abandon everything Indian, he believed, would cause Punjabis to go "downwards."

Such thinking, parents realize, is hard for children to understand. Punjabi young people, raised in Valleyside, wish to copy the ways of their peers including, frequently, a less than diligent attitude toward high school education. The solution, parents believe, is for children to learn about Punjabi history and culture. "They should never forget their past," one father noted.

> Then the children are good. If they forget about the country and the past, then they will be neither like us, nor them. [White Americans] will not let us catch up with them. They will not let

> us join them. But these children think that they will be like them. We can never catch up with them, nor do we need to....No matter what we do, if we dress up like them, we can never be like them.

This father went on to say that "intelligent sons and daughters" understand this. The "fools," however, "start thinking like them and do likewise." What he wanted for his children was education. Children "don't really need a lot of nice clothes to wear...[for] if you don't study and only wear nice clothes, how much success will we have?" Rather, he said, it is "through education they will be recognised as being good and respected."

School work to Punjabis is like farm work. It is not the appearances which matters, but the hard work.

> If we don't take full care of it, we fail. All the hard work that you have put into it just goes wasted. But if we pay full attention to farming, then obviously we will have a good crop. Other people will come and congratulate us saying that this is excellent. If we just drive our pickups around the fields instead of working, and then afterwards we don't have any crops, obviously we are going to fail. So this is the same with children in school. If they do well, then they will be comfortable. Otherwise it is bad. [Punjabi farmer]

This father himself said he knew little about how his child was doing in school. He relied on his eldest daughter, who had herself graduated from Valleyside High, to handle matters related to formal education.

School officials often note that it is difficult to get Punjabi parents to come to school. They recognize that there are language barriers and that Punjabi parents work hard, but feel thwarted in their efforts to involve parents in decisions which they feel merit their attention. Parents, for their part, feel it is the school's responsibility to take care of school matters and that they have little to contribute. Also, if parents themselves have had little formal education, they prefer someone else to take care of school matters. In such cases they often ask a relative, with more education than they, to deal with school affairs. When Punjabi parents are invited to meetings, even when they know an interpreter will be available, they rarely attend. Their non-attendance, however, should not be interpreted as lack of support; they place high priority on education, but place low priority on their own direct involvement in school affairs.

Some Punjabi parents, furthermore, are unsure as to why school officials request their presence at meetings and conferences. Parents in India are only asked to intervene in the most serious matters. Parents may be embarrassed, therefore, when contact by the school,

fearful that their child has not obeyed those in authority. Otherwise, they assume, the problem could have been resolved without their intervention.

Student Perspectives on Education and Employment

Punjabi students, like their parents, believe there is a strong relationship between success in school and one's success in later life. They know from first hand experience the drudgery of farm labor. They aspire to an easier life. Those youngsters whose families own ranches are themselves somewhat more positive about farming, but they also know the risks and worry involved in turning a steady profit from peaches and prunes. One farmer's son described orchard farming as follows:

> If it rains your crop is gone and if it doesn't you're alright....Like right now, the crop is coming out and if it starts pouring it will cause all the peaches to brown. If it rains for a couple of days or so your peaches won't have a very good chance at all....All year long you fertilize, spray it and disc it up and irrigate it, hoping it will all come out all right and then all of a sudden you get this rain. It's just a big gamble.

This young man went on to explain how the price of peaches had fallen in one year from $155 a ton to only $115 and that people are having to pull out their trees because there is no market for them. He also described how during the peak season in the summer he would "go about 2:00 in the night and work the machine" for five hours. Of prunes, he said,

> we used to go at 6:00 in the morning until 10:00 at night unloading and stuff like that. So it's not all that great. It's better to sit in an office where you start at 9:00 and get off at 5:00 at night.

This Punjabi youth had an impressive knowledge of orchard farming, but little desire to pursue farming directly as a career. He planned instead to go into some field of business, related perhaps to agriculture. Other young Punjabis echoed this student's attitudes. "To me a not so good job is working in the orchard," said one. Work at the prune dryer and the cannery were all the same thing from their perspective. "It's very boring," another said; "I can't stand it." If they have no other option Punjabi youngsters will do farm work. If education can lead them to better opportunities, however, they will seize them.

Most Punjabi students, when asked, say they would not be happy to have either their father's or mother's jobs, or income. They have made what they feel is a realistic appraisal of life as farm workers,

even farm owners, and wish a different opportunity for themselves. By way of contrast, Valleysider students say they would be satisfied to have their father's job and income, although most would be unhappy with their mother's occupation and about half would be dissatisfied with their mother's income. Of course, most Valleysider parents earn a great deal more than most Punjabi parents and have jobs that are less physically demanding. Punjabi students see a stronger relationship betweeen education, jobs, and income than Valleysider students, although the large majority of both groups say education is an important factor.

Students' Views of Schooling

From the Punjabi students' perspective attending school is the best option available. Not only do they feel that going to school will serve a useful end, they enjoy it. Most boys find school far preferable to farm work, which, essentially, is their only other option. Girls prefer school to "sitting at home." The one aspect of schooling which Punjabi students dislike, girls in particular, is the prejudice of mainstream students and the related hostilities with which they must cope. Chapter Nine focuses on social relations in high school and their impact on student performance.

Punjabi students have a definite sense that they are learning things in school which will be valuable to them in their adult life. Command of English is of paramount importance, newer arrivals realize, but students also appreciate the academic, vocational, and social skills which they know they are acquiring. English, math, and shop classes top the boys' lists of classes "liked the most," although some boys include these among the subjects they liked least. The girls responses are more varied. Students who had least command of English noted difficulty with their social science classes, especially the required civics class which had no standard text. English classes, interestingly, they found easiest. Students fluent in English varied with respect to which clases they considered easiest but, like their Valleysider classmates, they tended to find the upper division math and science courses the most demanding.

Most Punjabis felt they had been able to enroll in the courses of their choice (86 percent). Most were satisfied with their grades (75 percent). All but a handfull felt they had had an "average" or "successful" school experience; a higher percentage of Punjabi students responded "successful" or "very successful" than did Valleysiders. Punjabi girls who had lived in the U.S. all or most of their lives were the one exception. Over half of those who been in the Valleyside system since first grade described their school experience as "not too successful." These girls believed they had not done as well academically as they might have, had other concerns not taken precedence. Chapters Eight and Nine discuss some of the barriers to their success.

Daily attendance at all classes is necessary, Punjabi students say, unless one is really sick. Only four students (11 percent of those sampled on this point) felt other things were ever more important. Attendance records support students' attitudes and point to a major contrast between the Punjabi and Valleysider groups. One fifth of the Punjabi students had perfect attendance records their senior year. Not one Valleysider student in our sample had perfect attendance. Only 11 percent of Punjabis had missed over 10 days during the 175-day school year, compared with 57 percent of the Valleysiders. The median number of days absent for Punjabis was 3, as compared to 14 for Valleysiders. Punjabi girls who had been in the United States since first grade tended to be absent more frequently, at the rate of 8.5 days per year.

Punjabi youth also tend to avoid behavior problems which may lead to suspension from school. Only 14 percent of the Punjabi males had ever been suspended, compared to 45 percent of the boys in the Valleysider sample. Students heed their parents' advice in matters of attendance and behavior.

Punjabi youngsters also apply themselves to their homework, again a contrast to many of the Valleysiders sampled. Twice the number of Punjabis as Valleysiders told us that homework is "very important" (89 percent to 41 percent). Those more recently arrived are more likely to do homework "nearly everyday" (80 percent), while approximately half of those who have been here since second grade do homework only "some days." Both boys and girls, regardless of time in this country, spend over an hour on school work, some over two hours, on those days when they do it. If students have difficulty with their school work they generally seek help from a teacher or teacher aide (49 percent), although one in four may turn for assistance to an older sibling. Punjabi students, on average, put more effort into their education than Valleysider students.

Teachers' Views

Teachers and administrators[1] note that Punjabi students are, for the most part, very well bahaved, quiet, cause no trouble, and do what is asked of them. Many observed that Punjabi students willingly do their homework, in contrast to many Valleysider classmates, especially assignments which demand repetition and rote learning to attain mastery, such as typing and bookkeeping. Teachers noted that Punjabi

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1. We interviewed more than 50 Valleysider educators, some at length and on several separate occasions, including elementary school principals, as well as secondary level teachers, aides, counselors, administrators, and staff. High school faculty members also shared their views on a written questionnaire.

youngsters want to know exactly what they must do to be prepared for a test. Many described their Punjabi students as above average and attributed this to their motivation and to parental support for education; in these areas, too, some teachers noted a contrast between Punjabi and Valleysider youngsters. Others comented that the Punjabis' good behavior was related, in part, to their being "submissive," "quiet," "shy," and "docile," especially the girls. An exception was a teacher, who had mainly girls in her classes; she described the Punjabis as "pushy" and "demanding," certainly not shy. In general, teachers noted attributes which facilitate success in school when describing their Punjabi students.

A number of Valleysider educators remarked on Punjabis' orientation to success. The students, they noted, had goals and strived to achieve them. Their "sense of purpose" and "direction" was observed even at the elementary level, where school administrators found them to be adjusting well to school and to their surroundings. School personnel also observed that Punjabi students tend to feel good about themselves and to have a positive sense of identity, factors which they point out are central to school achievement. Punjabi students, moreover, understand what work is all about. They have learned this, teachers note, by working alongside their parents in the fields. Parents, they believe, are the key to the students' success in school.

Several teachers made special note of the respect which Punjabi youth show them. One teacher, for example, went out of her way to phone our office, following an interview earlier in the day, to make sure her feelings were fully reported. The Punjabi students, she said, "make me feel special, make me feel like I want to do more for them....It's a kind of gentle respect." Our Punjabi research assistant commented on this simply, "They've been taught by their parents to respect adults."

One high school teacher reported how he used parental pressure to bring deviant Punjabi students quickly back into line if they are "cutting or goofing off." Several principals observed that most Punjabi parents, when called by the school, will very quickly take care of any problem related to their child's behavior. Others noted the importance of Punjabi peer pressure in bringing students back into line. Students will tease those who receive bad grades and compete with one another to do well, some teachers pointed out. Peer pressure is, thus, at least for some Punjabi youngsters, a positive force, contributing to school success.

Although certainly competitive, Punjabi students also work together and appear to enjoy doing so. Recognizing this, several teachers said that they encourage group learning. They noted, furthermore, that fluent-English-speaking Punjabis are usually quite willing to help those more newly arrived. Some teachers, therefore, deliberately place Punjabi students who are American born, or fluent in English, next to non-English speakers to translate and otherswise

assist them with what is going on in class. The strength of the Punjabi family and community carries over into school affairs.

Barriers to School Success

A lack of proficiency in English is the number one barrier to educational achievement for Punjabi students. In chapter six we described how students limited in English (LES and NES) are unable to take the same high school classes as native English speakers. The problem, however, is not limited to these students. Even some students who are labelled fluent English speakers (FES) by the school district encounter difficulties with the more advanced English classes. On standardized tests in reading, writing, and mathematics,2/ furthermore, less than half as many of the American-educated Punjabis place in the top quartile nationally as Valleysiders (see Table 20). Almost half the Punjabi students score in the bottom quartile nationally. Most Punjabi students, moreover, do poorly in their English classes at the local community college. Their college teachers and counselors report that they are simply not prepared for college English. Weaknesses in language development cause students difficulty when dealing with abstract concepts and when performing assignments which emphasize analysis and synthesis more than memorization.

Only three quarters of the Punjabi students reported that they could read English very well. Only half gave an equally high appraisal of their competencies in speaking and writing English. Most Punjabi students simply have not had adequate exposure to English. Punjabi is the first langauge learned by almost all the students: only 10 of 224 Punjabi students learned English as their first language. Of the American-born Punjabi students, however, one third learned English first and three quarters of these students report that English is the language they now use most at home.

Most Punjabi students, including the American born, have limited contact with native English speakers. Those classified as FES attend classes with native English speakers, but most spend their free time socializing with Punjabi friends. After school almost all Punjabi students return directly home. Punjabis are exposed to English on television, but this exposure is insufficient to ready them for the rigors of college preparatory classes. Few Punjabis report reading for pleasure and those that do, educators note, rarely select books which are intellectually demanding. Most Punjabi homes, furthermore, have few books, magazines, or newspapers in evidence.

Nor do students develop their language skills through reading in Punjabi. While 68 percent of the students say they speak Punjabi

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2. The mathematics test requires a great deal of reading.

"very well," over a third (37 percent) report that they cannot read Punjabi at all. Even fewer can read it very well (32 percent). Fewer yet can write in Punjabi, which requires their mastering the Gurmukhi script. Only those most recently arrived from India, in fact, have had opportunity to study the Punjabi language in any depth.

School officials, especially at the elementary level, praise Punjabi students for the rapidity with which they learn English. Although many of those who enter Valleyside schools at an early age do learn English readily and have an average to above average record in high school, others are impeded in their educational progress due to poor English skills. In the higher grades, many refrain from taking college preparatory classes, in part because their reading and writing skills are inadequate to the demands of these classes.

Some students and teachers note that parental pressure on students to bring home good grades can have a negative, as well as positive, effect. Students, for example, may select "easier" classes in order to assure themselves of the grades which will satisfy their parents. They may, furthermore, feel pressured into cheating on tests, to save embarrassment from poor marks.

The American system of education differs in certain basic respects from the British and Indian systems with which Punjabi parents are familiar. Grades are one area of difference. In India a student's progress is generally measured by scores on an external examination given nation-wide to all students at a particular grade level. Parents, therefore, are not accustomed to the American system, where students may in fact receive high marks from their classes, but be pursuing a less rigorous course of study. Punjabis may also assume that students who have met the requirements for high school graduation have also met requirements for university admission, similar to the Indian system. Parents are likely to assume, moreover, that neither they, nor their child, should question the school's recommendations regarding academic progress or the most appropriate course of study. These are matters left entirely in the hands of school authorities in India.

Most Punjabi parents, furthermore, feel their immediate responsibility is the financial support of the family. This necessity is more pressing, they believe, than participating in school affairs. "We have put [our children] in school and leave the strings to God," one father explained. Parents take care of matters at home and expect their children, under the supervision of their teachers, to take care of all matters at school. A few Punjabis disagree with this approach and assert instead that the parents must take time to learn about the American schools and their children's experiences in them. If parents ignore what is going on at school, one observed, children may make decisions about their academic and social lives without benefit of their parents' guidance.

Another area of potential confusion concerns the end of the school day. Parents assume that because the school day officially ends at the close of sixth period (the last class), students should return home at this point. Those riding school buses, as most Punjabi students do, must in fact leave school at this time. Many school activities, including all team sports and some special work with teachers, however, occur after the official end of the school day. Science teachers note that Punjabi parents prevent their children from becoming involved in science experiments which require students to spend extra time at school. Many teachers are available after school and would be willing to help Punjabi students with their course work. Some students may well need tutoring outside of the regular school hours, if they are to keep up in college preparatory classes. Quite possibly Punjabi parents would arrange an alternative mode of transportation and permit their children to remain later at school were they aware of the academic benefit.

Punjabi parents are much interested in physical health and sports, especially for their boys. Some may not realize, however, that physical education class, which takes place during the school day, does not provide their children opportunity to compete on the school teams. Participation in team sports requires late afternoon, and even evening, practice and games. Fuller discussion of the barriers to Punjabi participation in sports and extracurricular activities occurs in Chapters Eight and Nine.

Although, as indicated, Punjabi student attendance is generally excellent, teachers note that a few students enter school in the fall semester only after the peach season has ended. Parents count on the family's seasonal income to carry them through the remainder of the year. Some parents may not realize, however, that by entering school late students may not be able to have their first choice of classes, as the class enrollment may be full by the time they arrive. Further, students enrolling late may have difficulty making up the missed material.

Another area of difficulty, noted by several Punjabi students, has to do with homework. Students feel that to do the more demanding work required in such classes as English literature, they not only need the time required for their homework, they also need to be away from the distractions of family life in order to concentrate fully on their studies. This problem was noted, in particular, by several Punjabi girls who felt their parents did not understand their need for studying in the public library.

Additional factors impeding school success for Punjabi youth are considered in later chapters of the report.

C. Summary and Discussion

"Cultural Differences Theory"

The "cultural differences theory" of school success is increasingly used by anthropologists and educators to explain the poor performance of minority youth whose home culture is, in one way or another, at odds with the school culture. Cultural differences may indeed lead to discontinuity, and yet differences per se are not necessarily dysfunctional. The issue is not how to create the home setting within the school (or vice versa), but how to help young people deal constructively with discontinuities between the two settings. This case study provides opportunity to compare the school adaptation patterns of two groups of students, one representative of the mainstream majority in American society and the other an Asian immigrant minority. The two groups have distinctly different school response patterns closely related to their home-derived theories about success, including beliefs about formal education and its usefulness in later life. To understand the impact of cultural factors on school success it is necessary, therefore, to examine the interrelation between home and school culture.

Self-Reliance

One major area of contrast between the Punjabi and Valleysider groups relates to their definitions of "self-reliance." For most Valleysiders self-reliance means the ability to go out on one's own. To prepare young people for this day Valleysider parents encourage responsibility, initiative, and independence. They also teach their offspring that their future success will depend, in large measure, on their willingness to work hard, get along with others, and strive for what they want. Parents believe that schools help to instill these values in young people. By the high school years, both parents and teachers agree that young people ought to be be able to take responsibility for their actions, including decisions regarding their education. Young Valleysiders, for their part, insist on doing so. But everybody worries about it. This feeling pervades Valleysider parent and teacher interviews in the present study. Of course, the present study, by taking a sample of seniors, those closest to graduation and their 18th birthdays, has emphasized this feeling.

The trouble here uncovered is clearly a deep one, and perhaps even more significant for the freshman than the senior. It was in their freshman year, many Valleysider parents observe, that their child had the most difficulties. The trouble, as the parents see it, resulted from the size of the high school, the lack of a homeroom teacher to show the way, and the expectation that high school students should be able to make decisions independently about such matters as attendance, homework, and social activities. From the students'

standpoint the assumption of self-reliance is something eagerly desired and undertaken, yet feared, and so it is likewise with parents and teachers. They urge it on their charges, and yet worry about teenagers' ability to carry it out. When sufficient supervision and encouragement are not forthcoming, parents fault the school and the school faults the parents. Some note, vaguely, that the problem is the community, or the society. In any case, most feel the cause of, and solution to, the problem may well be beyond their control. The present study suggests, however, that Valleysider students' performance in school might be enhanced through a different model of parent, teacher, student relationships.

Several sets of parents specifically spoke out against too much emphasis by the society at large, and by school personnel, on independent decision making for young people. The high school, they felt, was undercutting parental authority. One mother complained, for example, about a teacher who was encouraging students to form their own opinions and not to feel that they must believe something just because "your parents believe it." Several Valleysiders objected strongly to instructing children that at age 18 they would be on their own. "In our home that's not true," one parent stated. Another felt the school was communicating to his son that "he can do as he pleases, at school, at home, or anyplace else, and the parents don't have anything to say about it." This man said firmly that he did not believe in this philosophy and that as a parent he still had authority over his child. He wished the school would help get this "across to the kids." He seemed to feel that the school instead emphasizes to young people that as soon as they are 18, and legally adults, that they can do as they please, without regard for their parents' wishes or advice. Legally, this may be correct, but parents, this man felt, are nevertheless responsible.

Those Valleysiders who wished the school would do more to support parental authority also were strong supporters of school authority. They instructed their children to respect their teachers and to obey their direction, as they would their parents. In this respect, these Valleysider parents sound very much like Punjabi parents who reinforce, without question, the legitimacy of school authority.

Valleysider parents, even those who were closely involved in their child's elementary schooling, find little need to be as directly involved at the high school level. By this they usually mean being active in the PTA, having conferences with their child's teachers, and attending school functions to which they are invited. They also are less involved in monitoring school performance at home, expecting teenage children to take responsibility for their work.

Valleysiders are much concerned that their children receive their high school diplomas. Quite a few, however, are unsure how to measure success in school beyond meeting the requirements for graduation and getting "good grades." Although most parents are well pleased with

the high school curriculum, noting that the resources are there for all with the initiative to use them, few suggest that their children are much interested in what they are learning and have a sense of educational purpose, or are actually learning very much. While Valleysiders place high value on formal education in an ideal sense, the message which comes across to many of their adolescent children is that getting average grades, meeting graduation requirements, and staying out of trouble not only will satisfy their parents, but will be sufficient for them to be successful as adults. Some of those Valleysiders who want more for their youngsters in the way of formal education may well feel they are swimming upstream against the joint forces of peer pressure and school structure.

Valleysider parents emphasize the importance of learning "the basics," but few, in fact, encourage academic excellence. Even those who stress the importance beyond high school, do so more from the perspective of the credentials, or the specialized training, necessary for certain careers, than from any conviction that their child will benefit from a good education. Some even point out that in today's market higher education guarantees one nothing. Other qualities, Valleysiders feel, will be more important to their children's success. Social skills, initiative, and the willingness to work hard for what one wants, coupled with opportunity, are the keys to success, most feel. These values do indeed teach children independence and self-reliance, but contribute also to mediocrity of academic education for the majority. Instead of electing demanding classes, or even attending class and applying themselves to homework, the large majority of Valleysider students invest their energy in their jobs and in social and recreational activities.

Self-reliance has long been an important American value and doubtless has had much to do with the strength of American development. In Valleyside it has sometimes operated so as to undercut school performance, but there is no necessity that it do so. Self-reliance need not conflict with the dignity of education or the authority of teachers. In fact, teachers at Valleyside High value and reward self-reliance, generally, and many students develop in self-reliance as part of a successful school experience. Encouraging self-reliance is essential to the school's function of preparing its charges for life "on their own." There is a danger, however, in mainstream American culture, that independence and self-reliance may take a self-destructive turn, that structure and rigor may be so denied as to inhibit individuals' ability to function successful "on their own."

The Punjabi Aproach

Punjabi parents encourage no similar independence among their adolescent children. Teenagers, they feel, must be closely supervised, and protected, as otherwise they may wander about wasting time,

or worse yet, may get into trouble. Parents, Punjabis believe, must maintain their authority during these troublesome teenage years. Punjabi youngsters are given increasing amounts of responsibility, under supervision, at home and on the farm so that by the time they leave school they will be ready to take up their roles as adults, able "to stand on their own feet" within the family group.

Children are taught the meaning of hard work and self-discipline from an early age. During the school year Punjabi youngsters are encouraged to think of school work as their job. Those who apply themselves to their studies will prosper, their parents advise; those who do not are destined to hard labor in peach and prune orchards. Punjabi parents have great respect for the institution of schooling, and for authority, which they instill in their children, together with a belief that formal education is the key to their success in the United States. These beliefs, coupled with traditional Punjabi success strategies, enable Punjabi children to transcend most of the cultural differences which confront them in American schools and to adapt to the expectations of their new environment.

Many traditional Punjabi cultural traits, furthermore, serve not as barriers to school success, but as facilitators. Most Punjabi children, like their parents, have a strong positive identity, are goal oriented, disciplined, willing to do what is expected of them without question, and able to defer gratifcation in the present for the promise of future reward. Not all Punjabi youngsters are good students, but almost all do what is required to get their high school diplomas, and as a group they are described as above average by their teachers. While the Punjabi theory of success promotes academic achievement, it does not necessarily lead students to be socially successful in school. The criteria for social success, as defined by Valleysider parents, teachers, and students alike, require Punjabis to assimilate into a mainstream American lifestyle. Punjabis, however, see formal education, not cultural assimilation, as the route to their economic advancement.

In order to prepare their children for "standing on their feet" Punjabi parents teach children the importance of initiative and hard work. They also teach children to help one another, work together, and bring credit to their family by their actions. Punjabi youngsters, for their part, understand the importance of acquiring skills which will maximize their income potential, and of following the opportunities available to them. They understand, too, that they must respect authority and that they have much to learn from their elders. All of these qualities help Punjabi youngsters succeed in school. In spite of obstacles created by language barriers, the strangeness of new surroundings, their parents' struggle to make ends meet, and in many cases their parents' own lack of formal education, and lack of knowledge about the American system of education, many Punjabi students have successful school experiences.

Self-reliance in this Punjabi mode has been important to the strength and continuity of Punjabi culture. Punjabi self-reliance, however, may inhibit flexibility and creativity by too great emphasis on structure and authority. Just as Punjabi self-reliance tends to undermine itself in this direction, Valleysider self-reliance tends to weaken itslef in the opposite direction. Both have their strengths, both their weaknesses. Both also shed light on students' responses to schooling.

CHAPTER EIGHT

INSTRUCTIONAL PROGRAM

In the previous section we noted a number of factors related to students' cultural backgrounds and to home-school linkages which influence success in high school for both Punjabi youth and their mainstream Valleysider age-mates. Some of these we shall examine again in the context of the instructional program at Valleyside High. Our discussion focuses on the structure of the educational program and its influence on academic performance. It is our purpose to show how structural and cultural factors interrelate to influence educational opportunity. Many of the factors cited as barriers to student success influence more than one facet of the instructional program. To avoid repetition, however, we discuss each factor in connection with that part of the instructional program where its influence is most apparent.

The school district's concern with instructional shortcomings was a major stimulus for the Punjabi Education Project. The district has cooperated fully in the research endeavor in hopes that project findings and conclusions will provide a basis for positive change. The problems we describe are not unique to Valleyside. The news media reports almost daily on studies which testify to the need for educational reform. The decline in educational standards is of such grave concern that a Presidential Commission recently declared "our nation...at risk" (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983). The needs of minority youth, both recent immigrants and second generation youth whose school performance lags behind that of their classmates, are of special concern to researchers and practioners alike.

Compared with other high schools of its type Valleyside High enjoys a good reputation. Parents commend the high school for its resources, both vocational and academic. Standardized test data document average to above average achievement by Valleysider students

compared to national samples. Our focus on weaknesses within the instructional program should be interpreted, therefore, in light of the program's overall strengths.

The following discussion focuses on Punjabi students but has implications for the instruction of mainstream students as well. This chapter draws less heavily on direct quotations than have previous chapters because interviews with instructional personnel, as well as informal conversations with students, were, for the most part, summarized in field notes rather than recorded verbatim. Our analysis includes English-as-a-second-language offerings, placement, testing, differences between A level and B level classes, physical education, and career education.

A. English-As-A-Second-Language

Specialized assistance in English is clearly needed by students whose skills in English are limited and whose mother tongue is another language. Assistance is necessary until these students are proficient in reading, writing, and speaking English. Otherwise they will continue to be handicapped in their classes. They will also be at a disadvantage as they go forward after high school to compete for jobs with those who are fluent in English. Throughout our interviews we found near unanimous agreement among parents, students, and teachers, Valleysiders and Punjabis alike, that the schools have to provide language instruction to those who are limited in English.1/ All agreed, furthermore, that Punjabi students must learn English and learn it well if they are to compete educationally and economically with their mainstream counterparts.

In Chapter Six we indicated that 23 percent of the Punjabi students entering American schools in first or second grade are still classified by the school district as limited in their command of English during high school. The precentage increases to 33 percent for those entering American schools in third or fourth grade, and to a staggering 90 percent for those entering after fourth grade. Students limited in English must devote a significant portion of their instructional contact hours not to high school level classes, but to study of the English language.

In recognition of the special needs of limited-English speakers, the Valleyside School District has in recent years greatly expanded its ESL (English-as-a-second-language) activities at the elementary and junior high levels, as well as at the high school level. Between

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1. A very small minority of Valleysiders felt that Punjabis should be required to learn Engish before immigrating to the U.S., or before entering schools.

1975 and 1980, for example, the number of ESL classes at the high school grew from 4 to 22. The district deserves commendation for its increased attention to the special needs of non-English speaking students. It is not possible at the present time to assess the impact of these changes. A longitudinal evaluation of students receiving ESL instruction is needed, both to determine the success of district efforts and to pinpoint areas of continued need. We focus here on the academic performance of Punjabi students at the high school level, particularly those recently arrived from India.

The ESL Curriculum at Valleyside High

All non-English speakers are placed into the "ESL 1" track, which provides three periods per day of ESL English, plus two more periods of ESL math, science, social studies, or driver's education. All students, regardless of age, grade level, previous preparation, or ability are placed in the same classroom, where the teacher, with the assistance of aides, divides the students into small learning groups. For one period during the day non-English speakers are placed in a class with the student body at large, usually a section of physical education. The following year these students, together with other limited English speakers--those whose test scores show them to have a third or fourth grade commmand of English--are placed in the "ESL 2" track. Limited-English-speaking students take two periods of ESL English and, in many cases another period of ESL math, science, or social studies. During the remaining three periods of the school day they are placed in "regular" classes. Standardized test scores, together with their performance in mainstream classes, determine whether students must remain in the ESL program for a third or fourth year.

According to a ruling by the Office of Civil Rights, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, students attending Valleyside schools must receive one hour of ESL instruction per day until they can demonstrate that they are fluent in reading, writing, and speaking English, and are able either to score above the 40th percentile on a standardized achievement test or to maintain a "C" grade average in all regular classes. ESL cannot be waived by a student's parents. The large majority (76 percent) of ESL students at Valleyside High are Punjabis. The comments which follow focus specifically on this group, but in many cases pertain to all ESL students.

Many of the new arrivals from India comment positively about ESL classes, noting that they need special assistance. ESL classes provide a protected environment where students feel free to make mistakes, ask questions, and request assistance in ways that they would not were they placed immediately into regular classes. ESL teachers are assisted by aides who speak Punjabi. In a regular classroom, with 25 or more students, teachers simply cannot provide the individualized

instruction needed by these students. Nor is it possible to assign instructional aides to all mainstream classes.

The ESL program as currently designed, however, has certain drawbacks. Many Punjabi students say that they find ESL classes very "easy," far easier than their classes in India and requiring less homework. Students also feel that they have covered the material previously and, thus, "already knew all that." Students find the subject matter boring, since materials written for a first to fourth grade reading level tend to be targeted at much younger children. Several students noted that regular English classes are "better" because they are taught by "American" teachers, not Punjabis.2/ Their point was that the Indian-born and educated teachers have "accents" and that "white teachers are best to teach English." Students note, too, that ESL classes generally are aimed at the needs of those who lack either ability or interest. More able students feel they are held to the slower pace.

Most second- and third-year ESL students believe they would learn more in mainstream high school classes. Yet the ESL program, they feel, actually inhibits them from moving into these classes. Since most students receive "good" grades in ESL, they and their parents do not understand why they must continue in the program year after year. The American grading system, in combination with the tracking system, is a particular point of confusion to Punjabi parents. ESL students, furthermore, are concerned that they will not be able to keep up in college, knowing that they will finish high school without the necessary college preparatory courses.

A number of parents and American-educated Punjabis were also critical of the ESL program as presently constituted. One noted quite bluntly that the low reading level of ESL materials "won't do," what he called this "dog in the park stuff." Another expressed outrage that Punjabi students receive good grades and high school credit for classes which do not prepare them to be competitive in the job market. "Our children are placed in ghettos and remain there for the whole time spent in school," he noted. A few Punjabi community members bluntly accused school officials of "racist" intentions, noting that the outcome of the current program is to "perpetuate second-class status for Punjabi students." Others did not see the shortcomings as intentional but, nonetheless, felt that the ESL track had become a "trap."

Teachers agree that ESL materials are written at a very elementary level and are not stimulating for teenage students. They note, too, that they must move slowly in the ESL classes and, consequently,

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2. Two of the full time ESL English teachers at the high school are Punjabis.

cannot cover the same amount of subject matter as in comparable mainstream classes. It is unreasonable to expect, they point out, that even the second year ESL students (those in ESL 2) can move at the pace of mainstream classes, which require at least a sixth grade command of English. "If students come with no, or very little, English they cannot be moved that fast in one year," teachers point out. The major objective of ESL classes, they note, is to provide English instruction to students who lack proficiency in English. This is as true for ESL math and science, as for ESL English.

Teachers pointed to other difficulties faced in ESL classes, such as the wide variation in students' age, ability, and preparation in India. Some noted, moreover, their own lack of specialized training as ESL teachers and the lack of adequate curriculum materials in the subject areas. Lack of an overall ESL curriculum at either the high school or district level is another problem mentioned by instructional personnel.

As presently constituted the ESL program at Valleyside High has several other unintended results. First, social segregation is a consequence of separating limited English speakers from mainstream classmates. Although Punjabi parents and students concur with the necessity of special instruction in English for NES and LES students, they feel that students must spend more time interacting with their non-Punjabi classmates. Separation restricts opportunities for LES/NES students to mix with fluent English speakers and contributes to social tension on the high school campus. (Chapter Nine presents a fuller analysis of the social barriers to educational success.) Second, in trying to provide for the needs of ESL students, some instructional personnel may be overly protective of them. Of ESL students one teacher commented, everyone "mothers" them and treats them as their "babies," especially the girls. Students come to rely on and expect all the extra help, which in turn creates "dependency."

An example of this protective behavior is the holding of students in ESL classes, rather than placing them in A level (slow track) classes where absenteeism and discipline are problems. Students in track A, generally, are "lower ability" students who, in the view of some faculty members, are less tolerant of minority classmates than are the higher ability students. "It goes back to Red Necks, the poor white trash types looking for another group to put down," one teacher explained. Since LES students cannot keep up in B level classes (the fast track) and since A level classes are considered a potentially negative learning environment, there is a tendancy on the part of some teachers to keep Punjabi youngsters in the ESL program even when they are academically ready to move forward. Instead of being encouraged to be competivite and self-reliant, students are kept in the secure environment of ESL.

Punjabi students themselves recognize that ESL classes provide a comfortable instructional setting. Some prefer, therefore, to remain

in these classes even though they feel they are not getting the same preparation as other students. Mainstream classes, they recognize, are "harder" and offer less assistance from aides. They worry, too, that their grades may suffer if they take more difficult classes.

An additional problem relates to the placement of students as they move out of the ESL program into a full day of regular classes. Like other high school students, they spend part of their day in required classes, until they have fulfilled all graduation requirements, and the remainder of their time taking "electives." For most Punjabi students this means vocational courses. Given a choice, most will elect the classes with high Punjabi enrollments; most shy away from academic classes they fear will be too demanding.

Punjabi students, by and large, welcome the opportunity to learn job-related skills, but in many cases their course selection does not seem to relate to their career goals. Most Punjabi girls, for example, take secretarial classes, even though few wish to be secretaries. Boys state as career goals jobs in electronics and engineering, but enroll in shop classes rather than the math and science classes needed for success in their favored fields.

Even students who wish to spend all their time in academic classes, after they move out of the ESL program, find it difficult to arrange their schedules accordingly. As the curriculum is currently set up, students arriving from India in the ninth grade take one semester of ESL general math and one semester of ESL general science in their ninth grade. In tenth grade they take another one-semester class of general math. Thus, at the end of two years in high school, they have had opportunity to take only one year of basic math, regardless of their interest or ability. Not until their junior year are they able to enroll in a full-year, high-school level, math class, usually pre-algebra. Finally, in the their senior year, they are eligible for first year algebra, which most high school students take as freshmen or sophomores, some as eighth graders. Some Punjabi students have received good math preparation in Indian schools, but their lack of English proficiency, combined with the structure of the Valleyside High curriculum, prevents them from pursuing high school math until their senior year. Many of the ESL students, furthermore, take no science beyond the one semester of ESL general science, which fulfills graduation requirement in science. Many limited-English-speaking students also take no high school level English courses, since they are able to fulfill graduation requirements through their ESL classes.

B. Placement and Testing

Valleyside High receives new arrivals from India with widely varying educational backgrounds. Some have already had five or six years of English language instruction, a solid academic preparation,

can read and write two Indian languages, but lack skill in speaking English. Others have attended only a village elementary school for five years, but because of their age cannot be placed in sixth grade in Valleyside. These students have had no English instruction and, therefore, must learn their "A, B, Cs" much like an entering first grader.

The school district is faced with difficult problems in placing new arrivals. Transcripts, which usually arrive months after the student has begun school, if at all, may show only that the student has taken "math" or "science," without any indication of the nature of the course. In some instances a class listed as physics turns out to be only a very basic introduction to science.

In general, new arrivals from India are placed into grades 1 through 12 according to their age and their number of years of prior schooling. A few of the Punjabi parents interviewed objected to this system, saying children should be tested for what they know and placed accordingly. They cited examples of students with only a few years of schooling who had been enrolled in too high a grade and could not keep up with the work.

It is hard for the high school to meet the greatly varying needs of Punjabi students with limited resources. To test students adequately is difficult in the first place, since even those Punjabi students who can read English are not familiar with our style of objective tests. The cultural bias of American-made standardized tests causes additional difficulty in interpreting test results. A more comprehensive testing system is needed which assesses students' academic background and ability in their primary language, while also testing their knowledge of English. Teachers note that, under the present system, even students with severe learning disabiities must be placed into the same classrooms as all other limited-English speakers because no tests are available to diagnose their special needs.

New arrivals clearly must to learn how to take standardized tests in English. Toward this end and in order to measure progress in English, the high school tests all ESL students several times each year using both the California Test of Basic Skills and the Proficiency Tests in reading, writing, and math required for graduation. The process has some unintended results. Due to their limited English skills students receive very poor grades on the Proficiency Tests and then are criticized by parents and teased by peers for their poor showing. Some also become discouraged when they must take the same test again and again. "It is okay," one ESL student noted, "when you have passed it the first time," but, as he pointed out "when you have to take it the second time, you become 'double minded.' For example, the last time you had this question, you answered this way. Maybe this time you answer in a different way and see if you pass." In addition to guessing and feeling embarrassed by their low scores, some students reach a point where they consider cheating on the tests to be

their best alternative. Several fluent-English-speaking Punjabi students told us they had been asked to take the tests for their classmates. That cheating does occur on proficiency tests is further indicated through examination of test results, which reveals otherwise inexplicable jumps in the scores received by some students between two administrations of the test.

Cheating

A number of teachers noted that Punjabi students will cheat as a "survival strategy," if they must, on classroom tests and homework assignments, as well as on the Proficiency Tests. By way of explanation several Punjabi educators explained that in India "you make it or you fake it" because one's "fate and future" hang on examination results. Valleysider teachers also noted that Punjabi students do not appear particularly upset if they are questionned about copying another student's work. Explanation for student behavior appears to stem from a combination of the pressures from home to make good grades, the Indian examination system, and the need in Valleyside to pass the Proficiency Tests in order to graduate from high school.

Some teachers said that they are not very harsh with Punjabi students caught cheating since Valeysiders cheat, too, and they do not wish to apply a "double standard." Such an attitude on the part of techers, presented in the name of fairness, may well teach students that it is acceptable to rely on others for help in tests which are designed to measure individual achievement. Teachers who blink at cheating may inadvertently be keeping students in a non-competitive state, not only academically, but in the competition for jobs which will follow their schooling.

Not all behavior which is labelled by teachers as cheating should necessarily be so interpreted. Punjabi students enjoy working and learning together. What appears to teachers as cheating may, in some instances, be examples of Punjabi students assisting one another. Indeed, a number of teachers noted that Punjabi students in particular demonstrate a willingness to help one another and to learn together. Such positive interaction needs, obviously, to be distinguished from cheating.3/ Cooperation among students, furthermore, both in the classroom and on assignments, deserves positive recognition and encouragement.

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3. Further analysis is needed to distinguish more fully between the two sets of behavior, and to see both as they are seen by the Punjabi students themselves. This is an area which can be addressed through focused interviewing of both students and teachers.

C. College Preparatory and Track B Classes

All Valleyside High students are placed into slow or fast track classes in accordance with test scores and teachers' recommendations. Generally, students remain in A or B level classes throughout their four years of high school, although reassignment is possible. Some differences between the two tracks have been previously noted, but a number of additional areas merit discussion.

Students in B level and college preparatory classes, as described by their teachers, tend to be "self-motivated," "goal oriented," well disciplined, and have good study skills. To be placed in B track classes students must have a strong command of English. They must, moreover, demonstrate an abiity to grasp ideas quickly and deal with abstract concepts. In Track B classes teachers spend comparatively less time on mastering factual information and comparatively more time on problem solving, independent thinking, originality, and independent learning. Students are expected to be able to carry out assignments with little teacher supervision or assistance. In contrast with A track classes, students in the B track are graded more heavily on performance in meeting course objectives than on student effort or progress for their own sake.

Most Punjabi students are placed into the slower track A classes, either upon entering high school, or when they pass out of their ESL classes. As one teacher noted, "the limited-English speaking students may be super sharp, but they simply can't keep up in B level classes until they overcome their language handicap." Teachers also observed that students in track B classes provide good "role models", but, unfortunately, since most Punjabi students are in lower level classes, they never see the students who are really "studying hard".

Barriers to Punjabi Student Success in the "Fast" Track

Lack of proficiency in English is the number one academic handicap faced by Punjabi students at Valleyside High. There are, however, a number of other factors related to the students' prior education at home and in Indian schools which merit attention. The behavior appropriate to these settings differs from the behavior rewarded by some teachers in track B classes at Valleyside High.

Students in the fast track are encouraged to speak out in class, to demonstrate independent thinking, to challenge the ideas of fellow classmates, and, in some classes, even to question the views of their teacher. None of this behavior is characteristic of Punjabi students. In Indian schools teachers do not expect students to question their views or the adequacy of the information presented to them. In India, one Punjabi observed, teachers "just deposit information in our minds." Punjabi youth, furthermore, have been taught by their parents

to defer to the ideas of elders and not to bring attention to themselves by speaking out in front of those older than themselves. One Punjabi mother commented with confidence that her daughter would never attempt to make her own decisions at school. She knew her child would, instead, listen to her teachers and do as they instructed.

Valleysider teachers observe that Punjabi students tend to give the "right" answer, rather than one which is "more individualistic and creative." "Indian students like things to be very clear. They are very willing to work; they will study forever, but when things get abstract, they back off," one teacher noted. In response to comments such as these, one Punjabi educator explained that Valleysiders have little appreciation for the Punjabi style of creativity and manipulation of ideas. Punjabis students, therefore, feel inhibited to speak up in class for fear of negative reaction. This same individual noted that Valleysiders are wrong to assume that Punjabis have trouble with "inquiry problems" and are not "concept oriented."

Another Punjabi educator explained that Punjabi youngsters are uncomfortable with the "American technique of brainstorming" and fall silent when expected to speak out in group discussions. "They come to class to learn from someone else," this teacher noted, "and feel uncomfortable in a situation which requires them to speak out with their own ideas." Punjabi students, furthermore, will almost never disagree with the teacher; to do so is considered disrespectful, "rude," a form of "arguing." Occasionally students will do it to "test" the teacher, but not in any positive sense of debate or exploration of ideas and viewpoints.

We noticed a similar pattern in our student interviews and questionnaires. Students newly arrived from India, most notably the girls, were extremely reluctant to respond to our questions. Students appeared uncomfortable when asked to express their own opinion and either refrained totally from doing so, or responded only after a great deal of prodding on our part. This reluctance was not due to a necessity to speak or write in English. Punjabi interviewers were always available for those weak in English. Nor was the problem that of males interviewing females, or mainstream Americans interviewing Punjabis. Even the age difference in some instances between interviewer and interviewee was not that great; the two female Punjabi interviewers were both in their twenties. Recently arrived girls, and boys to a somewhat lesser extent, simply would not respond to questions which required value judgments and expression of attitudes. A structured interview was simply not an appropriate context for speaking out with one's ideas. Newer arrivals, however, did share their opinions with close friends and relatives.

Most Punjabi girls, even those born and educated in America, are reluctant to speak out in a coeducational setting. To do so is to call attention to to oneself, which is inappropriate behavior in the presence of the opposite sex. Lessons which pair boys and girls

together are particularly uncomfortable for Punjabi students. Traditionally, boys and girls in India avoid conversation in mixed company, and even eye contact. In Indian schools girls are not faced with the necessity to mix with boys or to speak up in their presence. Classroom interaction is structured differently and, in most cases, secondary schooling is segregated by sex. After fifth grade girls and boys usually attend separate schools.

Punjabi young people who have been educated in America evidence a great deal less reluctance to respond to adult-initiated questions, share their ideas, and speak up in the presence of the opposite sex. In all our interviews and informal conversations with Punjabi students raised in Valleyside, they spoke quite freely and candidly and demonstrated a readiness to express their viewpoints. High school students raised in the United States have learned to operate successfully in both home and school settings. They know when it is culturally appropriate to speak and when the setting requires silence.

The American-born, or educated, Punjabis are placed into track B classes in almost equal proportion to their Valleysider classmates4/ and many of these students, especially boys, go on to take the most advanced courses offered in science, math, and English (see Tables 15 and 16). Not all of the American-educated Punjabis are doing well in school, however. For quite a few language continues to be a major handicap.5/ Those Punjabi students who fail to master the English language, even though they have received all their schooling in Valleyside, may also be those who are most affected by problems of prejudice and discrimination.

D. Track A Classes

We asked teachers how they would characterize their instructional approach in leval A, or slow track classes, as compared with that used

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4. Sixty percent of the Punjabi students who entered Valleyside schools in first or second grade (Classes of 1981-84) were placed as freshmen in the fast track geography class, compared with 72 percent of their Valleysider classmates. In English, 30 percent of the American-educated Punjabis (Classes of 1983 and 1984) qualified for English 2B as sophomores, compared with 34 percent of the Valleysiders.

5. Quite a few of the Punjabi students who do not qualify for the B level English classes have trouble even in A level classes and either must receive special help through the Skills Center or the ESL program, or must repeat English 1 due to their poor performance. Nearly one quarter of the Punjabi students educated since first grade in Valleyside are still classified as limited-English-speakers in high school.

in track B. In general, they said, track A places more emphasis on skills development, repetition, drill, and rote learning. More time is devoted to practice in class. Teachers try to move students at their own pace, to provide more individual assistance, more guidance and more supervision. For many Punjabi students, especially those newly arrived or weak in basic skills, the approach is a much more comfortable one than that of track B. It clearly is appropriate also, at least as a starting point, for many of the Valleysider students.

The greatest drawback of track A classes, according to the teachers' characterization of them, is student attitude toward academic work. While teachers commend Punjabi students for their regular attendance, hard work, and motivation, as well as their ability to memorize required materials and master factual information, not all their Valleysider peers in A level classes receive equal praise. These classes have a high percentage of Valleysider students whom teachers characterize as unmotivated, lax in attendance and study habits, and, in general, turned off by school. Such students, according to their teachers, are generally "lower ability," not "college bound." Teachers noted, furthermore, that their parents often are less well educated and less affluent than parents of track B students.6/ Another difficulty with track A, teachers point out, is the large range in students' ability, from almost non-readers to those nearly meeting the criteria for placement in B level classes.

Valleysider students with the greatest discipline problems, furthermore, are usually in track A, including those who feel little reservation about acting out their racial prejudices. While problems between Valleysiders and Punjabis rarely occur in the college preparatory classes, both teachers and students note, they do cite incidents of Punjabi harrassment occuring in track A classrooms. Students with learning problems, teachers point out, are more likely, also, to develop discipline problems.

The less than ideal learning environment of track A classrooms may contribute to Punjabi students' reluctance to speak up in class. Few Punjabis, male or female, teachers report, will initiate answers in class. Many simply do not wish to call attention to themselves, especially if they are not certain that they know the right answer. As one Punjabi teacher explained, they "feel ashamed in class to raise their hand and say they didn't understand....They think their peers will think, 'he is dumb.'" Some Punjabi girls even give the impression that they "want to fade into the woodwork," Valleysider teachers observe, and in their embarrassement they giggle, turn their heads

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6. Data from our random sample of Valleysiders confirm a correlation between students' academic track and parents' income and educational levels. The differences, however, between the two groups were not great.

away, and cover their faces. The Punjabi students' fear of being wrong may also contribute to the tendancy among some to copy a friend's work, rather than present their own.

E. Additional Barriers to Punjabi School Success

Students limited in English frequently need to spend more time on assignments than fluent-English-speaking classmates. A chance to study materials outside of class is essential. Hence, many Punjabi students are at a disadvantage in courses which do not provide for student review of classwork before the next class session.

Some Punjabis note particular trouble with social studies classes. One student, who had failed all of her tests, commented, "I just can't understand it at all." Analyzing her difficulty, she explained:

> There is no book for this. If there was a book, or a worksheet, we would study and be able to pass the tests. We don't have a book. [Researcher: "Does the teacher explain the material to you?"] He does, but his English is difficult to understand, too, because he uses difficult words.

This student found the class, a required civics course, almost impossible to follow.

Limited-English-speaking students depend on being able to read, and re-read, the materials they are expected to learn. Students who have difficulty following what the teacher is saying in class feel they would benefit from having the ideas presented on the chalkboard, or on a ditto sheet. They wish also that they could take all their text books home at night. Valleysider parents, too, expressed concern about students not being able to bring books home from some classes.

Punjabi students also have difficulty in classes which require "field research." A few civics teachers, for example, require students to go to various shops, businesses, and governmental offices in Valleyside to gather forms and information as part of class assignments. Some Punjabi students have difficulty complying with the demands of the class because they do not have access to a car and there is no public transportation. Quite a few do not have a driver's license. Some Punjabi parents, furthermore, are reluctant to permit their children, especially girls, to go off on their own after school hours to collect the necessary information.

Some Punjabis also note discomfort with classes which emphasize values and lifestyles typical, perhaps, of mainstream America, but quite alien to their own experience. Students are encouraged in some classes, for example, to learn how to rent apartments on their own, to get married, to plan the family budget, and even to use

contraceptives, get divorced, and plan a funeral. Some civics classes also include units on cooking, sewing, and parenting. Others cover areas related to consumer economics, such as how to be a good shopper and how to handle emergency expenses or arrange social security benefits for an elderly mother-in-law with no one to take care of her. Most Valleysider parents comment positively about these classes, describing them with such terms as "excellent" and "terrific" and noting. in general, that they teach young people what they need in order to get along "on their own."

Punjabis, however, feel understandably uncomfortable with assignments and with group discussions which presume mainstream family values. Lessons dealing with marriage or contraception are embarrassing to Punjabi youth, particularly in coeducational settings. Outside of class Punjabi girls report that they are teased by Punjabi boys for having to pair off and "get married," in accordance with the teacher's instructions. Punjabis note, however, that "whatever the teacher says, we have to do."

F. Physical Education

To graduate from Valleyside High students must pass 4 semesters of physical education. Physical fitness and health are included among the district's instructional goals. All ninth and tenth graders are required to take PE; in eleventh and twelfth grade PE is an elective, except for those students who fail to meet all class requirements during their first two years.

Students receive full credit for PE class if they attend, change into gym clothes, and make a reasonable effort to do what is expected of them. Although seemingly straightforward requirements, more than half of the students in our senior sample, both Valleysiders and Punjabis, failed to receive full credit during ninth and tenth grades, and were thus required to continue with PE for additional semesters. Table 21 presents these findings.

Table 21. Students Failing One or More Semesters of Physical Education, by Ethnic Group and Sex (in percent).*

Punjabi girls	68.25
Punjabi boys	56.25
Valleysider girls	42.11
Valleysider boys	65.25

*Valleyside High, Class of 1981.

Absenteeism was a major reason that students lost credit. Sampled students were freshmen during the era of the unscheduled period and many, apparently, took advantage of the system to cut PE. Class attendance has improved in recent years, leading a higher percentage of students to complete all PE requirements by the end of their tenth grade. Many Punjabi girls, however, lost credit not for cutting, but for wearing their street clothes to PE and for not participating in required class activities. Differences betwen Punjabi and mainstream cultural values underlie the problems.

One teacher described the non-participation of Punjabi girls as follows:

> They don't want to compete with males or even with white females. It's really hard to get them to dress down for PE. They will wear street clothes until they know they will fail; then they will wear a sweat outfit. Punjabi girls are taught the female is inferior and are not taught to mix. They are unsure of themselves and don't know the rules. It is hard to take enough time with them to reach them at their level.

Punjabi girls, in fact, are taught that both sexes are equal, but that different norms govern behavior appropriate to males and females. They learn that adolescent girls must not be physically active, especially in the presence of boys. They learn, too, not to expose their legs and, therefore, most refuse to wear shorts--the standard uniform--in PE class. "Our children cannot change for sports," one Punjabi noted, because "this is against our culture." "Our people don't think it is right for girls to wear shorts and run around," another commented. This parent acquiesced because she did not wish her child to fail the class. To avoid exposing their legs, the large majority of Punjabi girls wear sweat pants, even in hot weather.

Punjabi girls would like to be more active in sports, but feel that there are simply too many barriers to their participation. Respect for their parents' wishes is a major factor. One Punjabi man explained the parents' perspective as follows:

> Maybe you can say we...are not modern. Maybe you can say that we are right, or wrong. You see, we want to expect the same thing from them [girls] as we have experienced and seen ourselves.

This man went on to explain that in village Punjab only little girls play about outside. An older girl, he said, would nevr be seen playing. "You would see her walking with her head low." Traditions change slowly, but some Punjabi parents feel that teenage girls should be permitted to take part in sports at Valleyside High. They recognize that the customs of the United States are different from those of India and, moreover, that physical exercise is necessary for physical health.

Punjabi parents would be more inclined to encourage their daughters to participate fully in sports at school if they played out of sight of boys and if their PE teachers were all women. Ironically, the federal regulations (Title IX) designed to bring about equal opportunities for women in sports and all other aspects of education work to the disadvantge of Punjabis. The goals of compliance to the regulations include "the elimination of within-class segregation" and "role models of both sexes."7/ In order to comply with both the letter and the spirit of the regulations when they were first mandated, Valleyside High implemented coed physical education classes, except for contact sports, which were exempted from the regulation. The high school, more recently, has returned to all-male and all-females PE classes because teachers felt that coed PE simply did not work. Punjabi girls, in particular, participated even less than before, during the era of coed PE.

Punjabi girls simply will not compete with boys. They feel uncomfortable even with boys watching them. In the CPR (cardio-pulmonary resuscitation) unit, which requires mouth-to-mouth contact and is mandatory for all tenth graders, one teacher observed that Punjabi girls simply would not take part while boys watched. They do participate in CPR in an all-girls section, this same teacher reported. Punjabi girls have been taught not to bring public notice to themselves in the presence of the opposite sex.

Required PE units which include any kind of dancing also cause problems for Punjabi youngsters, who have been taught to avoid all dancing in mixed company. One Punjabi mother stated her objection as follows:

> We do not want them to dance naked [with exposed legs], like they do ask them to dance a lot of time....They shouldn't dance.

When the daughter explained that she would lose credit if she did not take part, her mother reluctantly consented. Aeorbic dancing is still required, but in sex-segregated classes; in this environment the Punjabi girls do participate.

Other Punjabi parents complained about a PE unit which involved girls in wrestling:

> She told me that the teacher wants her to wrestle. I don't think that it is a good idea for a girl to wrestle....I said, "Forget it. Don't take that class," even if she has less credits.

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7. Cited in "Complying with Title IX Regulations," ERIC/CUE Fact Sheet Number 2, March 1981.

Wrestling, which was required for girls, as well as boys, several years ago, is now an elective activity at Valleyside High.

Some Punjabi girls also feel awkward because they do not know the rules of all the sports played in PE, or are not especially athletic, and wish to avoid public notice of their deficiencies. Valleysider students, furthermore, sometimes refuse to select Punjabis for their teams, because they are not good at the given sport, further contributing to the problem of low participation by Punjabi girls.

Another problem arising out of differences between home and school culture relates to Punjabi standards of modesty. Punjabi youngsters have been taught not to undress in the view of others, but the openness of the locker rooms at Valleyside High makes this difficult to manage. To gain privacy, some girls change in the toilet stalls. Valleysider students, lacking knowledge of Punjabi culture, become annoyed by the inconvenience.

> They [Punjabi girls] used to bug me, like in PE and stuff. Some are a little strange, like they go and change in the bathroom stall and no one can go to the bathroom. This is kind of irritating. Everyone else changes out where they are supposed to. [Valleysider girl]

Public showers are an even bigger obstacle for Punjabi youth. Although there is little time between classes, and few Valleysiders themselves shower after PE, when Punjabis refrain from showering it serves to confirm the stereotype of Punjabi "dirtiness." Punjabis, however, boys as well as girls, do not wish to shower where others can see them. One boy noted that at Valleyside College, where students had both time and privacy, Punjabi boys quite willinging shower after they exercise.

Some Punjabi boys may also feel handicapped from playing their hardest in PE due to their parents' wish that they avoid confrontation with Valleysiders. Parents counsel children to stay away from fights and be gentle. This is difficult in contact sports, especially when played against students who dislike Punjabis. Teachers also note that Punjabi boys tend not to be very agressive in sports and appear to hold back from playing their hardest. Newer arrivals are further handicapped by lack of familiarity with many American sports. In the Punjab boys play field hockey and the Indian game of kabadi, not baseball and football. Boys who wear turbans also find it difficult to wrestle or play American football, since the high school has no protective headgear which will not fit over a turban.

Punjabi boys, in general, have less difficulty than girls fitting into the PE program at Valleyside High. Their parents support their involvement in sports and teach them that physical fitness is important to their general good health. As a result, many Punjabi boys elect to take PE even after they have earned the 20 credits required

for graduation. Table 22 shows the percentage of students, both Valleysider and Punjabi, who take PE as an elective.

Table 22. Students Taking Physical Education as an Elective, by Ethnic Group and Sex (in percent).*

Punjabi girls	18.2
Punjabi boys	62.5
Valleysider girls	42.1
Valleysider boys	39.1

*Valleyside High, Class of 1981.

The contrast between Punjabi boys and girls is striking; more than three times the number of boys as girls elect to take PE. Punjabi boys take more PE, on average, than either Valleysider boys or girls. They enjoy sports. Some Punjabi boys may also choose PE because it is one of the few classes they can enjoy even if they are limited-English-speakers.

The top students at Valleyside High usually do not take extra PE, nor do they waste time in passing their PE requirements. In their junior and senior years they fill their class schedules with the courses they will need for college. If they are interested in sports, they will compete to be on the school teams, which play after school. The high achieving students, Punjabi girls included, generally complete their PE requirements by the end of tenth grade. Few Punjabi girls, or boys, however, compete to be on school teams.

Punjabi parents realize that their children must meet the requirements set forth by Valleyside High for graduation. Most feel, therefore, that they must allow their daughters to take part in physical education classes, even though they are uncomfortalbe with many aspects of their structure. The girls themselves would like to be more physically active and, undoubtedly, would be if some of the barriers to their participation could be reduced. Indeed, girls in later classes do seem to be participating somewhat more fully.8/

8. We do not have interview data for classes after 1981, but analysis of transcripts for the classes of 1982 and 1983 suggests both that more Punjabi girls are passing PE in 4 semeesters and more also are choosing to take PE as an elective in their junior and senior years.

All students must be provided equal educational opportunities. In the Punjabi case, however, required coeducational PE classes resulted in unequal participation and unequal benefit. The shift back to all-girls and all-boys classes appears to have resolved the most troublesome aspect of the PE program.

G. Vocational and Career Education

A few Valleysider teachers noted a lack of "mechanical aptitude" among the Punjabi students in their industrial arts, business, and driver's training classes. Others found no lack of aptitude, but rather a lack of exposure to things mechanical, especially among newer arrivals. Some students, they point out, have never used simple hand tools such as hammers and screwdrivers; most are not familiar with levers and pullies. Some, teachers observe, have "no concept of the relationship between the steering wheel [of a car] and what the tires do." Foot-eye-hand coordination necessary for driving a car, they point out, takes practice. These are things which Valleysider children, and most Punjabi children raised in this mechanized American society, take for granted. They are, however, things which many new immigrants from rural India must be taught. Most are eager to learn.

A majority of the Punjabi boys, as Table 10 indicates, enroll in small engine repair, welding, and auto mechanics. Many of their parents want them to learn these skills so that they can care for farm and household equipment and the family car. Some Punjabis even plan to take up welding or auto mechanics as a trade. A few Punjabi students have been discouraged from pursuing their vocational interests by class requirements. A boy who had no car dropped his auto mechanics class because the teacher asked everyone to bring in their cars to the shop. Another boy was told he could not weld because the school had no helmet which would fit over his turban.

Punjabi youngsters need more guidance than they receive with respect to career alternatives and the preparation they require. While teachers commend Punjabi youth for their goal orientation, many students, newer arrivals in particular are largely unaware of the options available to them. Nor can they turn to their parents for assistance. While parents obviously will offer advice, they recognize that America offers a great many career opportunities of which they are largely unaware. Many Punjabi youngsters, therefore, are encouraged to make career decisions for themselves. Their parents know they lack adequate knowledge to recommend what is best; they know, too, that their children must choose fields which will be satisfying to them.

Punjabi parents are appreciative of the vocational courses available at Valleyside High. No such training exists in Indian high schools. They recognize that not all students are suited for higher education and professional careers. Some also recognize that students

arriving in this country as teenagers face a handicap in school, due to their lack of proficiency in English, and that they may be well advised to pursue a trade, rather than a field which requires them to be competitive academically. Parents rely on school authorities to guide their children into fields appropriate to their talents and interests.

Work Experience

Actual work experience is particularly important for Punjabi students. It gives them practice in dealing with the public, face-to-face. Punjabi youth need to learn what Valleysider employers expect in the way of social skills, such as the appropriate situations for eye contact, a hand shake, or speaking up with one's own ideas. Without such knowledge, and skills, Punjabis will be at a disadvantage when competing with mainstream youth for jobs. Formal education may provide the academic and technical skills required by employers, but, without additional practical skills related to the world of work, Punjabis will be handicapped in obtaining employment.

The school has a number of programs which place students in jobs and job training classes. All of these, but most especially those off-campus, are valuable for Punjabi youngsters. The students themselves are enthusiastic about their R.O.P. classes and job placement experiences. They recognize the importance of meeting and working with people. One student spoke of her job training as follows:

> I think the kids really need it. It helped me a lot. I didn't have any experience at all and got turned down [looking for jobs on my own]. I was glad they had [the CETA program] because as I got into it, I was able to work. I worked in Sears for a month for Christmas rush. The only reason I got the job was because I had experience on registers that I had gotten through R.O.P.

This student went on to say that CETA and the other federally funded programs that provide job training for youth had helped "a lot of kids" and that the government should not do away with them. One of her R.O.P. classes, furthermore, had guided her to her chosen career. Although she planned to take some courses at Valleyside College, she expected to receive most of her training on the job.

Students' Plans for Higher Education

Approximately 12 percent of all Valleyside High graduates, school officials report, eventually earn a BA or BS degree. A few of these students, those with the strongest academic records, enroll directly after high school in a four-year college program. For most students, however, the next step after high school is either attendance at Valleyside College, often in concert with part-time work, or full-time

employment. A few students, upon leaving school, join the military or enroll in trade school.9/

Valleyside College is an important local resource, most notably so for the Punjabi graduates of Valleyside High. Double the number of Punjabis (70 percent) as Valleysiders (36 percent) in our senior samples went directly on to Valleyside College following high school graduation. Within both groups, more girls enrolled in college classes than boys (Punjabi girls, 80 percent; Valleysider girls, 42 percent; Punjabi boys, 58 percent; and Valleysider boys, 26 percent). In the Punjabi case, the students who attend community college cut across the academic spectrum, from those eligible for direct admission into the University of California,10/ to those who took no college prepartory courses at all during four years of high school.11/

Most Punjabi students have high educational aspirations. Two thirds say that, if possible, they would like to complete a four-year degree; one third of the girls and even more of the boys say they would like to attend graduate school. At the community college, however, few apply themselves to a rigorous course of study. For most, especially the girls, Valleyside College provides an opportunity to continue their general education.

Many girls, newer arrivals in particular, enroll in secretarial classes, just as they did in high school, even though few plan careers as secretaries. Girls who have been raised in Valleyside tend more toward technical training in such fields as nursing or computer science. Their career goals often require them to take science and math courses, which, if they have had little high school preparation, they find extremely difficult. Few girls complete their course of study in two years and fewer still, in spite of their stated aspirations, have satisfied all requirements for transfering into a four-year program by the time they leave Valleyside College.

The problem results in part from the gap between their aspirations and their actual expectations. Girls say they did not take the "tougher" courses in high school because they never expected that their parents would allow them to go on to college, even junior

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9. Most of those who enroll directly in a four-year college go to a state school. Only a handful goes to a private college, or leaves California.

10. Several of the top male Punjabi students each year go directly into a four-year program.

11. Ten of the 18 Punjabi students who had taken no "regular" English classes in high school enrolled the following year at Valleyside College.

college. Looking back, they regret the missed opportunities, but nevertheless, seem still to fail to apply themselves once they reach college. Most expect their parents will arrange their marriages soon, most likely after they finish at Valleyside College and, once married, they assume that family responsibilities will take precedence over further education.

Punjabi boys pursue a more varied program in college than the girls. Some take the necessary courses to enable them to transfer into a four-year degree program upon completion of their AA or AS degree. Others pursue a trade, such as welding. Quite a few, usually the more able, take courses in electronics and computer science. Like the girls, however, many of the Punjabi boys lack the English skills to pass the more advanced academic courses. College faculty members note that many Punjabi students insist on enrolling in courses for which they are inadquately prepared and then, seemingly, they fail to apply themselves to their studies. The result is poor grades and, for a few, dismissal from the college for unsatisfactory progress.

Given the freedom to elect their own courses and the responsibility to attend class, or not, many Punjabi students at Valleyside College, boys as well as girls, fail to apply themselves with as much diligence to their studies as either their teachers or parents would wish. By the time students reach college in America they are expected to make decisions on their own about their educational program. Many of the Punjabi students, unfortunately, are not fully prepared to take this responsibility. Teachers note that they are accustomed to a more structured environment where they can rely on those in authority to oversee their performance and progress. Punjabi parents fault college officials, if their child does poorly. Teachers and counselors, however, feel they can do no more than provide advice and encouragement. The community college has no mechanisms for forcing students either to take specified courses, or to attend once enrolled.

Fewer Valleysiders than Punjabis aspire to a four-year degree. Those that do, generally, are the same ones who pursued a college preparatory course of study throughout their four years of high school. Some of these students attend Valleyside College but more go directly to a state college or university. A few of these aspire to careers which will require not only a BA or BS, but also a graduate degree.

The large majority of Valleysider students, those with less than 11 college preparatory courses on their high school record, either attend Valleyside College or go directly to work. The priorities for many Valleysider young people following high school are to get out on their own, to earn money, and to gain experience on the job. If they have settled on a vocation by the time they finish high school, they will enroll in the technical courses necessary to obtain a job in that field, or to advance in it.

Like their parents, however, most Valleysider youth assume that other qualities, besides their educational background, will be the keys to their success in the job market. Only a handfull aspire to careers which require four years or more of higher education. The rest expect to acquire most of their skills on the job. These Valleysider young people, by and large, are confident of their ability to sell themselves to an employer. They list among their skills "salemanship," "public relations," and experience in working with people. Social skills, they clearly feel, are as important as technical ones when it comes to obtaining employment.

Punjabi girls, on the other hand, if they have had previous job experience, tend to see their saleable skills as their degree of proficiency on various office machines. The Punjabi boys in our sample, most of whom had had no work experience apart from farm labor, are unsure what skills they have which would be of interest to potential employers. They are hoping that their college education will make them competitive.

H. Summary

As our Punjabi case reveals, a combination of cultural and structural factors influence school success patterns. The cultural background of a Punjabi youngster has direct bearing on his or her performance in school. Lack of exposure to things mechanical, for example, handicaps students in some vocational courses. Their expectation, on the other hand, that a student's role is to memorize and to master factual information facilitates their performance in classes requiring such skills. Punjabis' respect for authority and acceptance of hard work, furthermore, enables almost every student, no matter how recently arrived, to meet high school graduation requirements. Teachers praise their diligence and goal orientation. Punjabi students' performance at the secondary level, however, is impeded by traditional age and sex roles, which cause teenagers discomfort in coeducational classes and in classes which expect adolescents to speak out with their own views.

Most of the cultural barriers to Punjabis' success in an American high school, we have found, are temporary in nature, or at least are minimized by a student's years in the United States. Second generation students, and first generation youngsters who have been educated in American schools, not only understand how American school culture differs from Punjabi home culture, but, in most cases, have successfully adapted to the expectations of both. The major cultural handicap for these students is lack of full proficiency in English, a deficiency which, in quite a few cases, prevents placement and advancement in the college preparatory track in high school.

Posing greater barriers to Punjabi students' academic progress are weaknesses imbeded within the school district's placement and

tracking systems. The structure of the educational program, designed to facilitate teaching and learning, serves instead in a number of instances to block students' educational progress. To meet the needs of students unable to perform "at grade level," the high school has instituted a variety of instructional tracks. Special classes in basic skills and ESL English, together with slow track, level A classes, have been instituted for the purpose of providing specialized help to students who cannot meet the demands of the college preparatory track.

In certain respects the tracking system achieves its objectives. College preparatory students are able to move forward in their courses unimpeded by the needs of those less academically oriented or prepared. Students weak in basic reading, writing, and math skills receive special assistance in small, individualized classes. Speakers of other languages receive up to five periods a day of instruction in English to speed their transition into the mainstream. The instructional approach of A level classes, furthermore, is designed to meet students at their current skill levels. Students uninterested in or unable to take the higher level academic classes also have the option of taking a wide range of vocational and non-academic classes.

Few students, or parents, question the structure of the educational program. In cases of dissatisfaction with student achievement, parents fault the teachers and their children themselves, while teachers lay blame on the parents and students. Students, for the most part, are pleased with their school experience, although some recognize they have not applied themselves to the fullest. In only a few instances, generally related to the high school's ESL program, do students, parents, or teachers point to the structural barriers to educational opportunity. As the analysis has indicated, however, structural factors can pose major barriers to academic progress.

The ESL program at Valleyside High, intended to provide special assistance for students of all ability levels, has become instead a remedial track. Although the program provides access to a high school diploma for low ability students and those poorly prepared in India, it inadvertently has become a trap for the more able students and those well educated in their foreign schools. The program's current design, futhermore, contributes to Punjabi separatism and segregation, and restricts opportunity for Punjabi students to mix with their Valleysider classmates.

Even would-be college students are channeled from general science and general math into vocational courses. The current scheduling of classes makes it almost necessary for students to move from their ESL sequence into vocational and other elective classes, even if the student would prefer a solid academic program. Under the present scheduling system at Valleyside High even the most industrious and determined of the ESL students find it difficult to take first-year algebra before their senior year.

Students able to compete in regular classes, but unable to keep up with the demands of the B level, college preparatory track, are placed in track A. The social and instructional environment of these classes, as currently set up, creates barriers to learning for many students, Valleysider and Punjabi alike. Students who are unmotivated, unruly, and turned off by school are lumped together with those who, for a variety of reasons, do not qualify for track B, but nonetheless wish to get the most out of their high school education. The irregular attendance and poor attitudes of some students thus disrupt the learning environment for others willing to accept teacher authority and class requirements. Social problems related to prejudice further impede educational opportunities for Punjabi students placed in these classes.

If the system continues as is, we anticipate that in years to come many Punjabi graduates of Valleyside High will fail to achieve either their educational or employment objectives. Punjabi students operate from a theory of success which places great value on formal education and educational credentials. Following their parents' teachings, they feel their schooling is the key to their employment opportunities in America. Our analysis suggests several reasons, however, that Punjabis' expectations may not be realized. First, so as not to deny a high school diploma to Punjabis weak in English, the school system has waived its regular English requirements for students enrolled in the ESL program. This policy places Punjabi students in a non-competitive state when they enroll, as most do, in courses at the local community college. The cycle of remedial education continues. Punjabi students who never break out of the remedial track connot be expected to be competitive in the job market.

Second, occupational success in America depends on many factors besides formal education, including friendship networks and social skills. Punjabis themselves have extensive networks and are of great assistance to one another in securing employment. Most of the students in our sample, however, do not wish to go into farming and aspire to jobs where few or no Punjabis currently work. Their Punjabi networks, thus, will prove of little value. Many Punjabi youngsters, furthermore, are inexperienced in social situations outside of the Punjabi community. Punjabi parents recognize this and assume that their children will acquire the social skills at school need to deal effectively with non-Punjabis. For a number of reasons, not the least of which is Valleysider prejudice toward Punjabis, social contact between Punjabi and Valleysider students is minimal. Prejudice not only impedes educational opportunity for Punjabi students, it creates a barrier, often unconscious in the minds of mainstream employers, to their employment. We turn now to an examination of social relations at school.

CHAPTER NINE

SOCIAL RELATIONS--SCHOOL

One of the major purposes of education, district philosophy asserts, is to transmit to each student the culture of our society, a culture which has been "enriched and diversified" by this nation's many peoples. Citizenship, social responsibility, and an understanding of our American heritage rank high among formal educational goals set forth by both the high school and the school district. As part of its instructional program the high school seeks to "provide experiences that develop in each student an awareness and appreciation of the interdependence of races, cultures, creeds, and nations." One measure of the district's and high school's success in achieving these goals is the nature of social relations among students from different ethnic groups as they complete their years of schooling in Valleyside. This chapter on social relations between Punjabi and Valleysider students.

In spite of the district's commitment to fostering social awareness and responsibility, almost every student and teacher we interviewed expressed a need for improvement in relations between Punjabis and non-Punjabis at the high school. Table 23 presents summary responses from students and teachers to a written question dealing with ethnic relations.

Not one Valleysider student in our senior sample described relations between the two groups as "very good" or even "good." Three quarters felt relations were "poor" and "needed lots of improvement." Among the teachers and other school personnel who responded to a written questionnaire, only three described social relations as good or very good and all three qualified their answers by saying "compared to other places," "in my classroom," and "at the present time." The latter respondent went on to say relations were good now because

Punjabis had yet to compete with Valleysiders for jobs. His prediction for the future was negative, "a time bomb." Only with the Punjabi student group did a sizeable minority respond that social relations needed "little improvement." The validity of their responses, however, must be questionned, for the same students reported a more negative picture in their interviews. Three fluent-English speaking students were describing, it seems, their own ability to get along well with Valleysider classmates. Some of the limited English speakers may have misunderstood the question, or felt that a negative response reflected poorly on Punjabi efforts get along with other Americans.

Table 23. Ethnic Relations at Valleyside High.

	High School Faculty	Punjabi Students	Valleysider Students
In your opinion, how are relations between Punjabis and non-Punjabis at the high school?			
Very Good (needs no improvement)	2.0	5.9	0.0
Good (needs little improvement)	4.1	20.6	0.0
Fair (needs some improvement)	55.1	26.5	23.1
Poor (needs lots of improvement)	38.8	47.0	76.9

School officials recognize that problems exist with respect to social relations and that improvements are needed. Their own concerns were a major reason for launching the Punjabi Education Project. The Superintendent of Schools in his letter endorsing the project wrote that the results of the research "will assist us in working for the improvement of the relationships between the Punjabi children and the majority student group, hopefully serving to enhance the educational program of both groups." As the formal research process comes to a close, three years after the original proposal was submitted to the National Institute of Education, district officials continue to express their hopes that the research will provide a "factual" description of Punjabi-Valleysider relations, "truly reflective" of the situation, "constructive" in its analysis, and useful to the district in suggesting "alternative ways" to improve educational

opportunities for young people in the district. The following discussion is designed to serve these ends.

A. Parents' Attitudes about a Heterogeneous High School

Parents, both Valleysider and Punjabi, welcome the idea of sending their children to a high school with a diverse student population. From the parents' perspective, learning to get along with others from different economic and ethnic backgrounds is part of the purpose of public education. Valleysider parents typically responded as follows:

> I think it's good because that is the way the situation is in the world. You deal with people of all classes, communicate and interact with those people, and I feel that if you didn't have that opportunity in high school you wouldn't be prepared for it.

This father felt that schoool is the proper place to get the exposure and experience. Another Valleysider noted that when his son "goes out in the world...he will be prepared for it." This man was opposed to private schools which cater to "one class," or "all whites."

Yet another Valleysider parent remarked that "somebody who grows up and sees a lot of points of view has got a broader outlook on life" than one who is "sheltered and only sees one point of view." This individual went on to say that there is "more to education than books" and that even if students learn less arithmetic or reading than they might in private schools, in public schools they learn "how to live."

While most Valleysider parents express strong support for a socially mixed school, some note that they are speaking in ideal terms:

> Before they got into it, I thought this was ideal, because there was an opportunity to get to know people from different backgrounds. I did not realize that it doesn't work that way. There are fences and it excludes them from many [groups]. When our daughter was going to start [high school], I heard my son advising her not to go in through that parking lot because a particular group used to stand there. He called them the "cowboys," whatever that means, and she was rather scared.

Another mother observed that it was not the ethnic groups on campus that bothered her so much as the cliques. "Cowboys" are one of the cliques.

Most Valleysider parents say little about the fact that most Punjabis remain socially separated at the high school from Valleysider students. This, quite simply, is not a primary concern for them, or their children. What bothers Valleysider parents, and students, with

respect to social relations on campus, are the Valleysider cliques which exclude other Valleysiders. One of the few Valleysider parents who commented on ethnic separatism also spoke strongly for youngsters of different ethnic backgrounds getting together in school.

> We have an area in school which is "Hindu Alley"....They separate themselves. They create their own ghetto. The Mexican kids use certain bathrooms, certain areas of the school grounds....All the Mexicans have one place. All the East Indians have one place. So they separate themselves.

This woman supported the idea of children "going to school together," but at Valleyside High, she commented, "for all practical purposes they are not." It is not the intention of school officials, she believed, that teenagers separate themselves into cliques, but rather that "youngsters want to be together" and "need each other."

Punjabi parent responses, in ideal terms, were much the same. "If we haven't been brought up amongst them [mainstream Americans], then how are we going to work with them later on?" one father pointed out. Another observed that Valleyside High provided his daughter a "unique opportunity to learn about other cultures,...be exposed to different thinking." He went on to note that if

> Punjabis are to live [and] work here, therefore it is natural and necessary that they understand various people and be able to deal with them properly and effectively.

Punjabis recognize the very real practical value of learning how to get along with the dominant culture. They know their children need such skills. They note, furthermore, that Sikhs are egalitarian in their beliefs and feel that schools mixed along ethnic and social class lines are appropriate. They are bothered, however, about having to send sons and daughters to the same high school. "We do want girls' schools separate from boys' at the secondary level," one father stated, "but you cannot have them like this here." Another noted that boys and girls attending school together causes "lots of problems."

Punjabi parents are bothered, too, about the prejudice which their children face at Valleyside High and about problems which ensue when Punjabi children adopt the values adhered to by many Valleysider youths. In principle, according to the Punjabi belief system, all children are "God's children" and all children are "the same." They believe, furthermore, that if one associates with a "good person," one will "learn good things." Neither race nor economic background should matter. The reality at Valleyside High, however, falls short of their ideal. Most Punjabis, parents and children alike, are disturbed by the social climate at the high school.

B. Punjabi-Valleysider Interaction at Valleyside High

In all of our interviews we endeavored to document from the perspective of Punjabi youth and parents incidents of positive interaction at school between Punjabi and Valleysider youngsters. Few examples were forthcoming. Like their parents, Punjabi students tend not to judge others by their race, but to accept as given that, in any group, there are the good and the bad. Punjabi youths themselves are attracted to many aspects of Valleysider culture. By and large they enjoy school. Their role models, often as not, are Valleysiders, as are the students whom they most respect or consider outstanding. Three out of four Punjabi youngsters report having non-Punjabi "friends" in high school.1/

By no means do Punjabi students have an overriding negative feeling about either Valleyside High or Valleysiders. Nonetheless, when one probes the nature of social relations between Valleysider and Punjabi youths, the picture which emerges is far from positive. The situation, at a general level, can be characterized by: (1) a widespread lack of knowledge about or respect for Punjabi culture; (2) a sense that matters will improve only when Punjabis change their culture; (3) a feeling on the part of most Valleysiders that their ways are superior to Punjabi ways; (4) a pervasive sense of prejudice by Valleysider students toward Punjabi students; (5) actual acts of hostility toward Punjabis by a wide enough spectrum of Valleysider students that it pervades Punjabi activity at school; and (6) social segregation on campus.

Acts of Hostility

Interview questions dealing with how Punjabis are treated at school generated a lengthy and varied list of grievances.2/ Verbal harrasment, food throwing, and pushing in line were the most frequent and widespread complaints. Punjabi students report, for example, that Valleysiders say "you stink," or "God damn Hindu," or "throw cans of soda" at them while they are having lunch. Or they say, "You Hindus come here and take our land," you are "stealing our land," and "you

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1. Quite frequently students did not know the name of their "friend," explaining that they were referring to someone they said "hello" to on a regular basis, or sat next to in class. A similar pattern was observed among Valleysiders, two thirds of whom said they had a Punjabi friend at school.

2. The incidents reported here either occured during the 1980-81 school year, or were still fresh in the minds of those whom we interviewed.

Hindus go back to India." In addition to soda and food, students reported paper balls shot at them with rubber bands, as well as paper, gum, and staples thrown at them on the school campus and on school buses. The harassment is not limited to students. The Project's research assistant reported french fries thrown at her during lunch as she and two other Punjabi women walked through the "Quad" [the central area of the school campus].

Waiting in line for buses and for lunch are the major settings for pushing. "When our children get on and off the bus, they have difficulty. The whites say that they want to get on first and push our children," one Punjabi parent commented. Students also report that they are tripped getting on and off buses and that "the American kids just won't let you sit next to them."

More serious, but less frequent, incidents include students being stuck with pins, spat upon, threatened physically, actually beaten up, and having lighted cigarettes thrown at them. Boys, furthermore, who wear their hair long in keeping with their religious beliefs, are constantly annoyed about their turbans. One Punjabi man reported that some Valleysiders call turbans "diapers". "They say that you have a diaper on. The child gets really upset and he feels disheartened." This man's son had had his turban pulled off his head when he first came to Valleyside High. Punjabi girls also are harassed if they wear Indian clothes to school, and feel pressured into wearing American clothes to protect themselves from constant annoyance.

Two students in our sample reported far more serious incidents, one a criminal offense. In this case the girl's hair was deliberately set fire on the school campus:

> I was walking along with a friend of mine after I finished my period and a boy lit my hair with a lighter. I had to cut a lot of my hair off....One girl who was coming behind me quickly put my hair out with her hands. If she hadn't done that, all of my hair would have been burned.

The girl, a limited English speaker, had been in the United States for two years. The offending youth was turned over to the police and suspended from school. Less serious incidents, however, usually do not come to the attention of school officials.

The second incident involved Valleysiders' constant harassment of Punjabis with respect to body odor and personal cleanliness. A Punjabi girl, again a limited English student, was put off a school bus taking students to their summer employment at the nearby air base. because, as the bus driver later reported, some non-Punjabi students had told the driver that the girl had lice in her hair. The girl was simply put off the bus 23 miles out of town without explanation:

> They just told me to get off the bus....I just sat there. They never gave me a ride, neither called my parents to tell them that they should pick me up. They didn't do anything....I just sat there.

The girl finally reached an uncle by phone, who drove out to pick her up. The uncle also went to the school distict office to seek an explanation. "They said, 'the whites had said she had lice," the girl reported in her interview. "I had dandruff," she explained. School officials apologized and promised that it would not happen again. The girl, who had suffered other harassment on school buses, ceased riding the bus. "I don't know what is wrong with them [Valleysider students], the girl concluded; "they don't want us here." Commenting on the incident, one Punjabi noted that no bus driver would have turned an "American student off the bus and humiliated them like this in front of the whole group of students sitting in the bus." To Punjabis the incident was not simply a cruel thing to do, it was an extraordinary outrage.

Prejudice related to Punjabi hygiene pervades every segment of the Valleysider community. Statements such as "they smell like a dead horse," or "you go into their homes and you cannot breathe" are common. Valleysider parents say "the odor" is what turns their children off the most. Clearly, many Valleysider parents concur with their children's evaluation.

Punjabi students respond, "They are just prejudiced. I am sure I don't smell." They also explain that body odor is related to diet:

> Our food is different and their's is different. We think that they smell and they think that we smell....We don't eat what they eat. When they come near us, we smell them like they smell us. They, too, really smell strong.

Another Punjabi explained that:

> Anglos use a lot of stuff like deodorants, hair spray, and in our culture we do not use that at all. They think we smell, but in fact we are as clean as they are. They just use a lot of junk on their bodies....They just use this [smell] to put you down.

This student felt that "probably the only solution is that Anglo students should have more knowledge of our culture."

Valleysiders offer many explanations for why Punjabis "smell bad," but none is convincing. The overwhelming explanation for Valleysider feelings about Punajbi odor is prejudice. Throughout the months of fieldwork members of the research team looked for examples to justify Valeysider complaints. There simply is no factual basis for Valleysider feelings. Even the specific classrooms, and specific students, which Valleysider teachers themselves said made them

nauseous were not found unpleasant in odor to the researchers. There are cases of Punjabi students with body odor problems, just as there are cases of Valleysiders, but nothing out of the ordinary. The researchers in this study attended services at the Sikh temples, in which hundreds of Punjabis were packed together in a confined space, shoes off, as is their custom, and noticed no unpleasant odors. They, and an outside observer noted for a delicate nose, rode 200 miles in the very center of a school bus packed with Punjabi students without a single unpleasant whiff. The researchers visited many Punjabi homes in the process of carrying out the research, and an equal number of Valleysider homes, and found no greater odor in the one than in the other. Prejudice runs deep in Valleyside and influences even perceptions of smell.

Valleysider students know that Punjabis are given a hard time. "A lot of American people dump on the East Indians....When you walk down the halls," one girl observed, "there will be an East Indian walking by you and people behind you will be saying stuff about him." Although most of the harassment occurs outside of class, incidents do also occur in classes, especially those where students are free to wander around, such as in shop, or where no teacher is nearby. One Valleysider reported, for example, that just the day before, in physical education, "there were two Punjabi girls sitting on the bleachers and four or five [Valleysider] guys sitting at the top were throwing stuff at the girls." Valleysider students also make cracks, under their breath, about "dirty Hindus," cracks which the students hear, but which largely escape teacher notice.

Valleysiders also were observed being blatantly hostile. Students, for example, who work in the school office would deliver a note to an ESL classroom, then, as they left the room say "Pee U" in a loud voice to friends standing outside. All would laugh. One Valleysider student assistant had to be asked three times by a supervisor to deliver "call slips" to an ESL class. "I am not going to take them. All the Hindus are there," the girl announced, and threw the slips down. To avoid such hassles the supervisors, when possible, assign Punjabi student assistants to deliver messages to ESL classrooms.

Some of the offenders freely admit their actions, reporting, for example, that "a group of Hindus hangs out over there and we hassle them sometimes....just for the hell of it. And they would get all upset." Another Valleysider boy connected smell with turban wearing, and with his dislike of Punjabis. It is those "that wear the turbans and don't take showers" that he minded. "A lot of kids," he said, including himself when he was younger, used to pull off turbans. In retrospect he agreed that the harassment probably caused some Punjabi boys to stop wearing turbans to school: "Yeah, it probably got pretty embarrassing, because their hair was all tied up." His friends, he reported, also used to throw food at Punjabis, while he and others stood around and laughed. Another boy told of a friend who would go <u>everyday</u> at lunch to where a group of Punjabis were sitting and "slap

each of them on the head as he went by." His reaction: "It was pretty tight, but it was pretty funny." No Punjabis reported amusement at such antics.

Punjabi Response Patterns

Only in rare cases do Punjabi students fight back when harassed by Valleysiders, or report incidents of harassment to school officials. The best response, they feel, is to try "to ignore it," in keeping with their parents' advice. "We tell them to let him say it," one father explained. Another parent instructed his child to "say 'never mind,' and let that time pass." The best approach, Punjabi parents believe, is to try to shrug off the offense. "It is our weak point that when they say 'Hindu,' we mind. If they keep on saying 'Hindu,' and we don't even look at them," one man commented, "they will stop."

Punjabi parents also instruct their children to keep away from bad company and to avoid fights.

> Live in harmony so that you get to know each other well. Keep away from quarrels and arguments. If there is a misunderstanding, then try to explain to them. If they still don't understand, then go and tell your teacher and he will be able to make them understand. But [you] should not cause any mischief. Keep away from these types of things. Keep busy and pay attention to studies and your work. [Punjabi parent]

The parents' approach, unfortunately, does not lead to a solution to the problems. Nor does it appear to deter the offending Valleysider youngsters.

Valleysiders, in fact, take advantage of those who fail to respond to their harassment. One student explained that "whites" know Punjabis are not going to talk back. "A lot of guys will call them names right to their face and they assume the East Indians won't do anything." Another Valleysider observed that "once somebody has gotten away with it once, there is no reason for them not to do it again." One student, who admitted to teasing Punjabis, also commented that "they never really bothered nobody. They never bothered me. They were just always over there together."

Punjabi boys are not afraid to fight, or to stand together. They will when pushed to the limit. To fight back, however, means to be sent to the dean and face suspension from school. "If you get in a fight with them, the principal will suspend you both and when your parents find out, they get mad," one boy explained. Punjabi parents generally do blame their children if they get in trouble; they assume, moreover, that if school officials punish a child, they must have had a good reason for so doing. Children simply ought not to "have

quarrels and fights in school. Everyone knows that," one parent explained. Another noted that "the problems of the child will hurt the parents and not anyone else." Thus, the Punjabi child must stay out of "trouble," lest he or she bring shame to the family's good name.

Several Valleysiders contrasted Punjabi and Mexican American response patterns. "Valleysiders would think twice before picking a fight with Mexican Americans. They won't stand for being put upon." There is a general feeling that Mexican Americans stick together if there is a confrontation. Punjabis, on the other hand, rarely join forces to protect their collective rights. Once again, students are deferring to their parents' advice: "We tell her to take care of herself and leave helping other students. She shouldn't get so much involved that she is disrespected." This man felt that trouble at school brings disgrace both to the child and to his or her family.

Punjabi students also explained that when they did stick together, school officials accused them of making trouble. They further noted their feeling that when they went to school officials, they were told, simply, to try to avoid the problems and to be understanding of the Valleysiders' ignorance and prejudice. Punjabi youngsters feel they, not the Valleysiders, are being told to "be the good ones." They ask, furthermore, "How many times are we supposed to back down?...They're getting by with it, so that's why they're doing more and more every day." Their parents also recognize that one "can keep quiet once or twice," but the third time it is understandable if the child fights back.

Not all Punjabis are picked upon all the time. Those who are fluent in English have learned to respond with a quick comment. In response to a Valleysider crack of "It sure stinks around here," a Punjabi student was overheard to reply, "You'd better put your arms down then." Those who have been in the U.S. for all or most of their lives are much better able to deal verbally with the situation. One Punjabi students commented that "a lot of the time, if you are a 'Hindu,' you are not supposed to say anything. Right?" This girl, raised for most of her life in the United States, then described being addressed in expletives and giving the same gross expletives right back to her "Honky" tormenter.

> Well, I was mad. She got me mad. Honestly, I turned around and let her have it. And that really hurt her, see. And she couldn't understand why I was hurt. So I let her feel the hurt, too.

Such responses generally cause Valleysiders to back off, but they can also precipitate a physical confrontation.

Those limited in English, however, are unable to trade insult for insult, or even explain that they are Sikhs, not Hindus. In many

cases they simply do not understand what is being said to them. They also get scared in the face of a confrontation and cannot think how to respond effectively in English. As one student explained, the new arrival simply can't compete. They can't even swear in English, or if they can, they are too upset to remember the words they know. All they can do is answer back in Punjabi.

Some Punjabis say they are afraid to go to school officials for fear that the offending students will harass them even more: "I notice here, if you report on kids, they'll come and get you after school." What's more, new arrivals do not know the Valleysiders' names. They also realize that offending youths will, most likely, deny involvement in the altercation. The result, one Punjabi boy observed, is that "they think that we are afraid of them. No matter what they say to us, we will not say anything back to them." His suggestion, "Stand up for each other" and fight back. "If we were encouraged with backing from others, they will never come near us." New arrivals, however, as one student explained,

> don't want to cause any trouble. They want to adjust. They want to get ahead and they want to learn something. The last thing they want to do is cause trouble. They tend not be be aggressive. They tend to overlook things.

The circumstances of their subordinate and immigrant status, it seems, have caused Punjabis to respond to harassment in Valleyside differently than they would, were they in Punjab. "A Sikh, especially a Jat Sikh, is conditioned not to turn the other cheek," one woman explained.

> It is not good to be a bully, or to seek conflict, but if it arises, and if you are put upon, you must acquit yourself honorably and justly. This is at the core.

Sikh children in India are instructed by their parents not to be sissies. This is more important than "keeping the peace" if there is "unfairness in inter-relations." Several reviewers of this report noted, in fact, that the Valleyside Punjabis, especially recent arrivals, must feel "cautious and insecure" in their new environment to have so deviated from the traditional Sikh value of "standing firm in the face of physical abuse."

Second generation Punjabis, still a small minority of the total Punjabi population at the high school, are much less likely to back off if confronted by Valleysiders. Although they face harassment less frequently, when they do, they are more likely to defend themselves. School officials also note that "not all Punjabis are angels" and that some Punjabi youngsters themselves instigate trouble. Undoubtedly this is true, but far more often the Punjabi youngster who causes "trouble" has been provoked into action.

The Effects of Prejudice on Punjabi Students

The generally negative atmosphere between Valleysiders and Punjabis affects Punjabis in their social, emotional, and academic development. While no Valleysiders noted Punjabis as a cause of problems for them personally in school, many Punjabis described how poor social relations added greatly to their difficulties. To escape Valleysider ridicule, for example, Punjabis may try to avoid any public notice of themselves. Some, for example, refrain from asking questions in class for fear of looking stupid or being teased about their English.

One Punjabi parent explained the impact of prejudice as follows:

> It interferes with the child's learning....If you are always worried in case some white child is going to say something to you,...then obviously it is going to interfere. You are not free from worry. You are always afraid that something might happen.

Other parents expressed similar concerns, noting that their children were too upset psychologically to devote themselves fully to their studies.

> Our Indian children dislike being teased and picked on. The white children tease them and they cannot concentrate on their education and the whole day is wasted. They cannot concentrate on their reading and we feel concerned about this.

For some the situation leads to a negative feeling about school, to cutting classes in which they are picked upon, and in extreme cases to dropping out of school altogether. "Instead of the child being successful, he becomes weak and afraid, saying, "why study?" and goes to work in the fields or the factory, one parent commented.

Even students who had been born in the United States and raised in Valleyside, especially girls, noted the impact on their studies. They resisted taking the "tougher" classes because they had so much else "on their minds" that they could not keep up with demanding homework. The general climate of prejudice hampers almost all Punjabi students in one way or another.

The prejudice causes many Punjabis to feel that they don't fit it. They are humiliated by all the mention of body odor, especially when teachers make remarks in front of a whole class of students, as occasionaly happens. All Punjabis feel the pressure to adopt Valleysider cultural standards and most feel they must conform, at least in part. The result for some is loss of pride in their Indian identity. A few even criticize fellow Punjabis for not conforming more rapidly. In general, the situation contributes to social segregation on campus.

Most Punjabi students feel more comfortable socializing with other Punjabis than with Valleysiders. The harassment is a major barrier to social integration. One Punjabi parent explained that Valleysiders "don't like the way the Punjabis dress; they don't like the way they speak. That is why our children cannot mix with them." Another specifically advised her children not to "mix around with the white children." Even in class, many Punjabi children sit separately. Most Punjabi students, furthermore, find it impossible to have both Punjabi and Valleysider friends. You have to chose, they feel, to mix with one group or the other.

One girl said the situation had caused her to feel that she did not want to mix. Rather, she wanted to "show those American people that 'Yes, we can do something. We are not just dumbies.'" This girl remarked that "even if my parents said that you should mix with the American people, I will not." She believed that by sticking with Punjabis she could demonstate "we are something" and that "we are no longer going to be knocked down."

Punjabi students and their parents realize that not all Valleysiders dislike or harass them. They recognize also that the worst offenders are often students with reputations as troublemakers and that it is difficult for school officials to control such students. They feel, however, that the high school can and should do more to resolve the problems. The fact that incidents continue to occur means, quite simply, in the parents' view that "our children are classed as inferior in school."

C. Valleyside High Faculty

High school faculty members feel relations between Punjabis and non-Punjabis need improvement, but few feel they know how the situation might be turned around. They share a sense of powerlessness in the face of widespread community prejudice against Punjabis. They feel that they have done just about "everything," but nothing works. Only time, most believe, will ease the situation. It takes two or three generations, many say, for immigrant groups to fit it. It will be the same with the Punjabis. In the meantime, teachers and administrators try to deal with major incidents of harassment as best they can.

How Teachers Respond

Punjabis feel that teachers treat all students the same. All teachers, however, do not handle acts of prejudice by students in the same fashion. Some teachers say, for example, that they generally "ignore" racist remarks. Others try to deal with the problems by "shielding" Punjabis from rude remarks and by calling offending students into the office to tell them their behavior is "unacceptable."

Some say they "simply insist on respect and enforce it." Some take it upon themselves "to talk about the different ethnic groups." Regardless of their approach, most feel that the school alone cannot turn around the situation.

Bigotry and prejudice, some teachers believe, are inevitable in situations where immigrants move into a community in large numbers and have such overt cultural differences as the Punjabis. Some point out, furthermore, that ethnic tensions stem from job competition and that relations will grow much worse as Punjabis make "inroads into areas where others will suffer [economic and job] loss." Teachers note, moreover, that Punjabi parents are alarmed by "the moral standards of some majority students" and therefore prevent their children from mixing. Many faculty members believe that the problems will lessen when Punjabis learn English.

Teachers, in general, blame Valleysider parents for passing on their own prejudiced attitudes to their children. They also point out, somewhat inconsistently, however, that they themselves are not prejudiced, but that their children are. Children pick up their prejudiced attitudes from peers, these teachers note. Valleysider parents, too, say their children pick up negative attitudes from their friends, at school, not at home. Teachers confirm that even by age five or six their children begin coming home repeating ethnic jokes and calling each other "Hindu," or made-up "Punjabi" names.

Quite a few teachers feel that any real solution rests with educating young people during their elementary years, when they are more open. By high school, they point out, kids can be very "crude and rude." Teenagers, they find, are resistive to new ideas; it is the "most narrow time in their life." Some faculty members feel, consequently, that while they are in high school "it is a waste of time to try to change them."

Not all agree. Some teachers say there is a lot that the high school faculty can and should do to improve ethnic relations. From their perspective teachers are a major key to reducing hositilities on campus and building a climate of mutual respect among different groups of students. Teachers, they note, can do a great deal to make students aware of and tolerant of cultural differences. Their recommended approach is a combination of firm discipline, education, and positive reinforcement. They praise Punjabi students in front of Valleysider peers. They absolutey refuse to tolerate any "prejudicial remarks, ethnic slurs, or offensive behavior." Much, much more could be done, they note, if all offensive behavior was handled swiftly through immediate "confrontation of students when incidents occur and reporting of same to their parents." Swift discipline, they feel, should be combined with a well articulated social science curriculum beginning in first grade which would develop knowledge about cultural differences, "notably East Indian, but...all our roots."

Disciplining the Offenders

Only a small percentage of the problems ever come to the attention of school authorities--generally those involving a fight or a specific complaint by a Punjabi student. Serious incidents, such as the hair burning, prompt a swift and forceful response. A life endangering act, such as this was, shocked and disturbed the community at large. Fights between students usually result in a three-day suspension for those involved. For acts viewed as less serious school officials may express their displeasure verbally and require the offender to apologize.

Punjabi students appreciate the actions taken by school authorities to correct the hostilities. Discussing problems on the bus, one student noted that "they used to spit on us a lot. I told the principal they were doing this and from then on it is OK." This student also felt her bus driver had helped her with problems related to Valleysiders spitting and throwing cigarettes.

Another Punjabi student noted that the boy who hit him was suspended for three days, after the Punjabi father had called the school to complain. The boy continued to be bothered by other Valleysider students, however, causing his parents to feel that the school's discipline techniques are ineffective and that the situation is beyond the control of school authorities. Another Punjabi parent noted outrage that when his son's turban was pulled off, the school did no more than ask the culprit to shake hands with his son. From a Punjabi parent's perspective knocking off a Sikh's turban requires a much sterner response.

Many Punjabis feel that if school officials were dealing with the situation effectively, the problems would not continue to occur. That they do continue is proof that appropriate steps are not taken to remedy the situation. Some parents realize that they can press school authorities to take action, but many others simply do not have the time, the know-how, or the fluency in English. What's more, they feel uncomfortable coming to the high school. Most share a sense of powerlessness. There is little they can do besides endure the harassment of their children.

The Punjabi students also think that more action could, and should, be taken by officals to protect their rights. The following story exemplifies some of their frustrations.

> I stood up for my rights and went to the [school official] and said that if someone fights me, what am I supposed to do? He told me, "Don't come and bring tales." The teachers will say that [too], "Don't come and tell us about it, OK?" Then if we get into a fight, they want to kick you out of school. Then what the hell are you supposed to do? That's what made me mad.

This girl felt there was simply no way to win. If she got in a fight, which she was not afraid to do, she would tarnish her otherwise clean school record and anger her parents. She persisted, instead, in complaining until school administrators took action against the troublemaker.

Teachers and Administrators Inadvertently Contribute to the Problems

Since the Punjabi students do try to handle most problems themselves, school officials are not fully aware of how much harassment they face. Most incidents are simply shrugged off. They have a cumulative effect, however. Faculty members, moreover, unwittingly contribute to the problems.

High school faculty members discount the impact of the harassment by saying Punjabis get into more fights among themselves, than with Valleysiders. Indeed, this may be an accurate perception, since Punjabis try to avoid fights with Valleysiders and are instructed by school officials to turn the other cheek and to be tolerant of Valleysider prejudices. Even more of the fights between Punjabi and Valleysider students could be avoided, if Punjabi students felt they had some other more effective recourse. Incidents involving family honor, however, cannot be ignored; such matters are usually the cause of intra-ethnic fighting.

Administrators point out that Punjabis contribute to some of their own problems by their inappropriate behavior. Again, while an accuarte perception, attitudes such as this tend to let school officials off the hook. Instead of being seen as the victims of unacceptable Valleysider prejudice, Punjabis become the cause of their own problems. The same holds true for faculty beliefs that Punjabis should try to speak English more, should try to mix more, and should use deodorant. Public remarks by faculty about Punjabi body odor serve to confirm the stereotype, as do mass meetings with all Punjabi students to discuss hygiene. Such an approach tends to legitimize an inferior status for Punjabis, by suggesting that they, in fact, are dirty, and places blame on the Punjabis, not Valleysiders, for social problems.

Other examples of displacing the guilt involve the myth of illegal aliens and the stereotype that new arrivals are "lower class," while earlier Punjabi immigrants were of a higher social status and hence fit into the community more easily. School officials suggest that many Punjabis are living in the United States illegally and attending Valleyside schools illegally, but that the district makes no issue about providing them with free education. Punjabis absolutely refute the validity of such accusations noting that no Punjabi could afford the financial cost of moving his family 11,000 miles to the United States and then risk deportation. Every family represented in

our sample was residing in the United States legitimately and was quite willing to share with us details as to when and how they obtained their permanent residence visas. Every family, furthermore, lived within the school district boundaries and thus their children appropriately belonged at Valleyside High. If illegal Punjabi workers reside in Valleyside, they are single and have no children attending district schools. Since all new arrivals are relatives of earlier arrivals, suggestions of differences in class status are also erroneous. Again, however, such perceptions bolster Valleysider attitudes.

A large faculty, such as Valleyside High's, understandably represents a wide range of viewpoints about Punjabis, just as the community at large. The school is, in itself, a microcosm of the larger society. Some teachers are very knowledgeable about Punjabi culture; others are not. Where ignorance exists, however, it reinforces ignorance on the part of Valleysider students. Faculty members also maintain the status quo by ignoring racist behavior, by noting that prejudice exists everywhere, by saying the community must change before the climate at school can be improved, and by asserting that it is wasted effort to try to change attitudes during the teenage years.

Many teachers are not fully conscious of their own cultural biases. Without such awareness, they tend to express ethnocentric attitudes which belittle Punjabi culture. Teachers, for example, will describe a Punjabi student as especially "enlightened and intelligent," noting, therefore, that they just cannot understand how he could have "allowed" his parents to arrange his marriage. Or they will single out the few Punjabi students who attend school dances as positive examples of the well-adapted and "Americanized" Punjabi. In general, the faculty conveys a sense that Valleysider culture is superior; Punjabi culture may work in India, but few consider it viable in the United States. Attitudes such as these are related, we feel, to prevalent Valleysider conceptions of (1) success in school and (2) American culture.

Social Definition of Success

In both our interviews and the written faculty questionnaire we asked teachers to define success in school (and non-success). Responses show diversity and complexity. Divergent descriptions of success seem less contradictory, however, than supplementary. They seem to describe the same complex phenomenon, but from different perspectives.

A very few may describe success as a diploma, or a certain grade-point-average, but most include psychological and, especially, social characteristics. There is an avoidance of ascribing success to intelligence, academic achievement, physical ability, personal charm, and good looks. In fact, no teacher describes success as getting "A's,"

starring in the senior follies, and playing first string in a varsity sport--or even mentions such criteria. Academic achievement, some say, is based largely on innate ability. Academic success, moreover, is not felt to be a necessary predictor of adult success. More important, many teachers suggest, are the students' social skills and their sense of self worth.

Many teachers view schooling as a socialization process. Typical of such is the teacher who defines the misfit and the non-succeeder not as the student with poor academic skills, but as the student who cannot "fit in...with other kids," who does not "feel part of it," and who does not "value" many of the things that other students enjoy at school. Other teachers suggested that to succeed in school a students need a "positive sense of self worth" and to "feel OK" about themselves." With respect to social skills teachers noted the need to "get along with peers," be "socially involved," and "involved in the total school experience." Many mention participation in extracurricular activities as important. Successful students also are "courteous, respectful," "appreciate others and their viewpoints," and are "accepting" of others. Teachers clearly see themselves as helping students to acquire and strengthen these qualities.

While Punjabi students and parents also believe schools should help students to develop socially, to be good citizens, to "respect others and get others' respect," they place higher priority on academic goals than on social ones. Almost all Punjabi students say that the purpose of school is to get a formal education. Valleysiders students, on the other hand, emphasize the school's role in helping them to mature and preparing them for the adult world. Likewise, in response to questions regarding what students "liked best about school" and "liked most about coming to school," Valleysiders emphasize friends and social life ahead of "learning." Punjabis all put formal education first.

In spite of their emphasis on matters social, Valleysider students themselves are not entirely satisfied with the social climate that exists at the high school. The social order, moreover, falls far short of the climate of "mutual acceptance" which the faculty defines as the ideal of "success."

D. Social Climate On Campus

Students describe the student body as divided into a number of distinct social groupings. Each group has its own territory and many students feel uncomfortable crossing the territorial boundaries. Although not all students identify with one group or another, few students are at ease mixing with students in several groups. One either identifies with no group, or with one group, although in some instances students can and do shift from one grouping to another.

The largest grouping is comprised of those students who hang out in the quad. A high percentage of students in the top half of their class (grades 9-12) sit in the quad during lunch, or have friends who do and would themselves feel comfortable doing so. Included within this large segment of the student body are the school's athletes, class officers, cheer leaders, and those most active in the various school clubs. Known generally as "Quaddies," these students have a reputation for being the "rich kids," the "popular people," the "school leaders." They also have a reputation for being "elitist," "rude," and competitive about clothes, They are thought, furthermore, to consider themselves superior to other students who cannot, or do not, choose to make it in their "Quaddie" crowd.

Non-Quaddies, including students in the top half of their class who simply do not fit the Quaddie description, are overwhelmingly negative about Quaddies.

> They are really rude. If someone is not like how they are, they say forget it, "I'm not going to talk to you." It's mean, but that's how it is.

Students cite clothes most frequently as setting female Quaddies apart from their classmates.

> If I wasn't working and if I didn't have money to buy the clothes I wanted, I would feel really bad, because a lot of people put others really down....[Their attitude is] if I have this and this, I am better than you.

Many students, such as the girl quoted here, reject Quaddie values, but at the same time feel pressured to compete with them. Many Valleysider girls spend most of their earnings on clothes, car maintenance, food, and entertainment. This may come to $40 or $50 a week during the school year. The girl cited above, like many of her classmates, spent, together with her boyfriend, over $100 for expenses involved in the junior-senior prom. The cost of a new dress, which for most costs well over $50, was additional. This girl looked forward to vacationing in Hawaii as a graduation present from her parents. Her parents, both of whom worked, had a joint annual income of more than $35,000.

Others noted that the "Back Parking Lotters"--students who hang out in the back parking lot--"feel if they want to wear tennis shoes and jeans and a T shirt to school, they ought to be able to do that." Students believe, however, that if they wear jeans in the quad they will be laughed at. Several students noted that people in the quad wouldn't necessarily say anything: "you just feel funny, know what they are thinking." Another girl commented, "if I was to go out and sit in the quad right now, whether I was in a dress or not, the same thing they are wearing, it would be like, 'who's she?'" Many other students concurred with these girls' attitudes. They simply did not

feel comfortable sitting in the quad.

While boys experience somewhat less pressure to compete with stylish and expensive clothes, they, too, note the influence. A student officer, for example, observed that "the one with nice clothes is more likely to get elected." He felt money was an important criterion for who became the student leaders. Even involvement in many of the clubs and sports is expensive. "A set of golf clubs isn't that cheap" and students on the tennis team generally belong to the racket club, he observed. Another student pointed out that even to join "Future Farmers of Aemrica" she was supposed to own an animal, so she didn't join. She could not afford to, she said. Other non-Quaddie students note that have little interestbe in all the school clubs, because all students do is plan their social acitivities.

The resentment of Quaddies even carries over into such areas as class photographs and the student senate. Referring to his senior photo one boy commented: "I should not be saying all this--it sounds biased--but all the Quaddies were standing in the front and from there back you couldn't see anyone." He was upset that students in front had been allowed to climb on one another's shoulders, blocking those behind them. He also noted that only those in the student government have any power to change things: "You have to be a senator in the school, in student government." But, he pointed out, "the election is a popularity contest." Other students explained that one senator is elected from each history class, grades 9-12, and that usually only Quaddies get elected. Thus, as many students describe the social structure on campus, Quaddies "run the school" and many other students feel they have little voice or power to change things.

Only a handful of Punjabi students sit in the quad. Most Punjabis, like most Mexican Americans and many Valleysiders, feel more comfortable elsewhere. They also have learned from experience to stay clear of those areas where they can expect to have food thrown at them, rude remarks made, or be challenged into fighting. Punjabis generally congregate on the fringes, by the student services trailer, over by the playing fields, in the business classrooms, or simply in the hallways.

Some Valleysiders point out that it is those Valleysiders whom Quaddies put down, that in turn are the nastiest to Punjabis. Others observe that Punjabis probably do not get involved in school activities because "they are not accepted by the whites. The whites mainly dominate the sports and social club activities." The "whites" in this case are largely Quaddies.

Several Valleysiders also observed that Punjabi students "kind of hide. They probably feel like I do out in the quad," one noted. "They don't fit." This student observed that "the whole city is almost a quad area," which was to say, not very friendly to people who don't meet the social standards of those in control.

E. Sports and Extracurricular Activities

During the early months of fieldwork we asked Valleyside educators to help us shape research objectives. A common concern was why few Punjabi students become involved in team sports and other extracurricular activities. Valleysider teachers and administrators view participation in such activities as an important aspect of a successful school experience and, in the Punjabi case, as an indicator of fitting into the total educational experience of American schools. We collected data, therefore, on the degree to which students do in fact participate in school activities, as well as their and their parents' perspectives on involvement in clubs and sports.

Three quarters of the Valleysider students in our senior sample had participated in one or more school activities. Almost every boy played some team sport during high school; several were also involved in clubs, honor society, had served as a class officer, or had been recognized by classmates or school officials for some outstanding quality. Boys in the top half of the class tended to view participation in school activities as part of a successful school experience. Most had themselves been involved throughout all four years of high school. Boys in the bottom half of their class also had participated in sports during their freshman and sophomore years, but after they began working, usually at age 16, they tended to place higher priority on jobs and earning money than on school activiites. "Clubs and stuff" are good if you like them, but "I never did," one boy commented. His explanation: "I am not a real social person [and] I go to work after school, so I don't have time for clubs."

Almost as many Valleysider girls participate in social activities as boys, but their involvement runs more toward clubs than athletics. Although some do play competitve sports, or help out with team sports, serving as cheer leaders or time-keepers, the girls' major involvement is with such activities as choir, school plays, and FFA (Future Farmers of America). Girls also attend the games held on campus against other schools and participate in other school-wide activities such as dances and senior follies. As with the boys, girls in the top half of the class tend to be more involved throughout all four years than those in the bottom half. Almost evey girl in the top half and fifty percent of those in the bottom half said they would have been even more involved had they had the time. Half of the boys also said they would have liked to have been more involved in school activites.

Parents' Perspectives

Most Valleysider students feel their parents actively encourage them to participate in extracurricular activities, or certainly do not discourage them from so doing. Some parents, students say, simply

leave it up to them, or say involvement is OK so long as it does not interfere with other responsibilities. The parents themselves note that not all children are alike; even in the same family, one child may be very involved, while another is not. Parents note, too, that some of their children are very busy with off-campus activities, through their churches or community organizations, or simply busy enjoying the activities they like with friends and family. Students who are little involved in any activites usually are those whom parents describe as "shy" and "not agressive." These students tend to be the same ones whom parents describe as too timid to assert themselves academically.

Punjabi parents have quite different perspectives about their children's participation in school activities. Many of the activities are viewed as a "waste of time." School work comes first. If students have "spare time" they should go to the library and read books which will increase their knowledge, one parent noted. He particularly encouraged his children to read in the "science field." Punjabi children also must help out with farm work. Their earnings, in many cases, are essential to the family's support. Punjabi parents, furthermore, worry that their children will become "spoiled" if they participate in social activities, ceasing to listen to their elders' advice. While parents do support participation in activities which they view as "beneficial," few of the extracurricular activities at Valleyside High are, from their perspective, seen as contributing to their children's well-being. Moreover, given their general displeasure with coeducation at the high school level, they understandably do not encourage students to take part in non-compulsory school activites where both sexes are present. One mother spoke for the large majority when she noted: "There is one thing...that we don't want and that is that the boys and girls play together."

Punjabi parents encourage their boys to join in team sports and take great pride in a son's athletic accomplishments. Few boys actually participate in school sports, however, for a variety of reasons. Team practice in the fall and spring conflicts with farm work, preventing many boys from participating in such sports as football and baseball. Even participation in winter sports, such as basketball, can prove troublesome. One girl, whose brother had played freshman basketball, explained:

> He was always gone and my dad didn't like that. He'd go to practice at night and he had a couple of tournaments out of town, and my dad didn't like that.

Parents worry if their children have to travel away from Valleyside, as they must for most team sports, because the other students are not known to the parents. Most parents, furthermore, are unsure of the type of supervision which is provided when students travel away from school, and they also worry for their child's safety if travel for any significant distance is involved. Even games and practice at Valley-

side High can cause transportation difficulties, since many families live on farms outside of town and rely on their children getting to and from school on the school bus.

Most Punjabi boys say their parents leave the decision of participation in extracurricular activities up to them, but few have either the time or interest to take part. Only one boy in our sample played a team sport at Valleyside High. Boys interested in sports are more likely to play soccer for the "Guru Nanak Club," the Punjabi team which trains at the Sikh temple, or to play kabadi and field hockey among themselves. These sports are not offered by the school, but are popular among Punjabi males. Only one boy was involved in a school club other than the Asian Club--a club organized by Punjabi students. One boy who had been a member of the Honor Society--a club for honor-roll students--explained that "it organizes dances,...sells carnations and things of that nature." That was "fine," he noted, "but I was bored to death with it." Had there been a computer club, or a club devoted to scientific experimentation, he would gladly have participated, he said. Several other boys noted that their "education" came first. Clubs which are perceived as social, rather than educational, are simply not of interest to most Punjabi youngsters.

In the case of their girls, Punjabi parents are even more cautious about permitting involvement. They worry about girls engaging in some activity which conflicts with Punjabi customs. All activities which involve dancing are taboo, for both sexes, but especially for girls. "Respectable women do not dance." Other activities involving singing or music are also considered inappropriate. Punjabis do not wish their daughters to stay after school, furthermore, because they think that boys will tease them. To be sure that no harm befalls their daughters, parents simply ask them to come directly home after their classes. Activities which occur after the close of the instructional day are not considered part of the educational program. Parents view certain types of activities, such as newspaper or yearbook, as worthwhile, but they assume that work on them will occur during school hours.

Punjabis are of two minds about encouraging girls to compete in high school sports. All of the same barriers which prevent girls' active participation in PE class come into play with respect to team sports. Parents do realize that physical health is important for their daughters, as well as their sons, but traditions involving family respect understandably change slowly. One father explained that if his daughter "goes out to play [or] is seen sitting with other girls, it is a sign of losing respect." This man went on to say that "it shouldn't be like this," but "it is just how it is seen by everyone." He himself believed that Punjabi girls should be encouraged to take part in sports and noted that even in India they do this. Several other parents agreed with this approach, although they realized it would cause some gossip.

No Punjabi girls in our senior sample were actually involved in any sports, apart from PE class and informal volleyball at lunch, but many would like to be. In reply to the question of which sports they "liked most," Punjabi girls provided more responses than any other group. Every girl listed at least one sport. Many listed two or three. Valleyball, badminton, softfall, and tennis ranked highest. Girls who had been in Valleyside longest were the ones who most wished greater involvement. The two major reasons they gave for not getting involved were their parents' wishes and racial discrimination.

Prejudice and Other Deterrents to Participation

The climate of prejudice serves as a major deterrent to Punjabi student involvement in sports and other school activities which Punjabis might otherwise enjoy. Students explained that they feel uncomfortable being with kids whom they expect will be "kicking" them or saying, "don't sit next to me because you smell." Even if the Punjabis encounter no overt hostilities, they worry that they may. Past experience tells them to be on guard. They also do not like to join alone. "If my friends had gone, I would have gone, too," Punjabi students of both sexes noted. One girl, who did participate for a while in sports, described her feelings as follows:

> Most of the girls are cheerleaders, or other high class kids....Being as I am a minority, they kinda look at you. It's like you're not wanted at all. They'll talk to each other and just laugh and you're standing back by yourself. You can try to talk to them and they'll answer you a little and then go right back to their own group..

This student, like most, preferred to avoid situations where she was "all by myself and all the other girls are enjoying themselves."

Some Punjabis feel that if they did participate more other students would "get to know them better and not just think of them as lower class." A perceived lack of common interests, however, serves as an additional deterrent.

> They talk about things like what are they going to do after school, who they are going out with. You just don't mix because you just don't talk about the same things. So you just go back to your own people and talk about things which you have in common. Like "American" people go skiing. Our people haven't even seen the snow.

This girl's perception was that Valleysider youth spend much of their time discussing parties, dates, and ski trips, none of which were pastimes of Punjabi youth. Feelings such as these were the primary motiviation for the Asian Club. Students wished to be with others like themselves and to be able to enjoy a social outing together.

F. Pressuring Punjabis to Conform

Lack of fluency in English is the single most important barrier to positive social relations betweeen Punjabi and Valleysider students. Students who cannot speak English well are those picked upon the most. These are also the students whom Valleysiders complain do not respond when they try to initiate a conversation. Quite a few Valleysiders, girls in particular, noted times when they had tried to be friendly, but "Punjabis don't answer back." Some realize this situation has been created, at least in part, by the hositilities of Valleysiders toward Punjabis. Students note that Punjabis "have to put up with white people so much" and "some white people [are] really mean to them." Valleysiders, nevertheless, wish Punjabis would be nice to those who are nice to them.

Most Valleysiders are also upset by students speaking Punjabi at school. They want Punjabis to learn English so that they can "communicate." They also do <u>not</u> want them speaking in Punjabi because they worry that Punjabi students are talking about them. People are upset, one student noted,

> because they can't understand it. People are curious. When somebody is saying something and they can't undrstand it, a lot of people think that it is about them and they can't take that.

Punjabis say they rarely are talking about Valleysiders, but recognize that sometimes they do look at Valleysiders while they are chatting among themselves. This may contribute to the Valleysider sense of unease. Basically, however, the use of Punjabi is a problem because Valleysiders want Punjabis to conform. They have never thought about the fact that they, too, would be inclined to speak their mother tongue to other native English speakers, even if they could also speak a second language. More importantly, perhaps, some are "intimated" and "frightened" by another language because they feel as though are not in "control" of the situation when they cannot understand what the Punjabi students are saying.

Valleysiders are uncomfortable not only with language differences but also with differences in hair style, dress, and social activities. Students who speak the least English are likely, too, to be those who are the most culturally distinct from the Valleysiders themselves. Clothes are the most often mentioned symbol of Punjabi students not "fitting in."

There is a strong sense among Valleysiders that if Punjabis want to "mix with us," they must dress like us. Valleysider boys demand conformity in dress even more than Valleysider girls, with such assertions as the following:

> If they come over to our country, they should learn our traits. They can have their own traits at home, but not around us. It's only our right. That's why so many Punjabis don't mix with the Americans. It's because of that, and the ones that do have a lot of white friends...dress like we do.

Many Valleysiders expressed similar feelings. Some Punjabis cannot afford "decent clothes," one boy commented; "it probably has to do with their lifestyles, lower standards of living, and lower class," he felt. "Decent" clothes, apparently, means American clothes, because those who wear Indian clothes or turbans are the most resented. "I think the East Indians that wear their turbans, sloppy shoes, and baggy clothes really get discriminated against," one Valleysider observed.

Some Valleysiders relate clothing styles with cleanliness and patriotism. The same student who explained that "we are really patriotic now in the U.S.," also noted that those Punjabis who wear the same clothes "that everybody else does" are the students that "don't smell," and that he would "consider Americanized." Another Valleysider explained her feelings as follows: "You can still have your religious beliefs, but you can still be clean." She noted that some of the girls "look clean," but "there are some, like the ones who wear the turbans; they are filthy,...the beards, you know. Ugh." Her final comment, "they are just spacy looking." Apparently this girl saw no relationship between turbans, beards, and freedom of religion. Punjabi girls and women are also criticized for putting oil in their hair; to Valleysiders this is yet another sign of their "filth."

A few Valleysiders note a connection between putting Punjabis down for their clothes and the pressure for Valleysider students themselves to conform to Quaddie standards of dress. When Punjabis don't conform, it bothers people "just the same way it does the clothes I wear; it is like that for everybody," one girl observed. It may have similar causes, but no Quaddie accused "Back Parking Loters" or the "Cowboys," or the "Frederick Street" crowd, or the Mexican Americans of being filthy. Nor did they throw food at them, or refuse to sit next to them on school-buses. The prejudice against Punjabis runs much deeper and relates to students' conceptions of American culture and Americanization.

The Valleysider View on Being American

Not all Valleysider students pick on Punjabis--probably only a small element is involved in the actual hostilities--but the large majority express negative feelings about Punjabis and Punjabi culture. The large majority (83 percent) also states strongly their belief that Punjabi students "should change their way of life once they are living in America." This process of culture change is what most Valleysiders mean by Americanization.

Valleysiders feel that immigrants, if they want to be accepted, "have to make an effort. People aren't just going to come up to you. You have go to do something, too," one student remarked. Punjabis, by and large, agree. Most do make an effort. The issue is not whether Punjabis try to get along with Valleysiders, but what they must do to receive Valleysider acceptance and respect.

"Making an effort," in the minds of many Valleysider students means conforming to a Valleysider life style. Students say somewhat inconsistently,

> I have nothing against family background or family roots or anything like that. It's just that I feel if you move here you have got to abide by the majority of the people.

Students, it seems, uphold the ideal of one's right to maintain cultural standards or to pursue religious convictions; in practice, however, individuals or groups that deviate from the standards of the dominant group will be penalized. The more analytically inclined recognize that what Valleysiders are saying to Punjabis is that might makes right:

> We have numbers on our side. The Anglos have the numbers; numbers means power and you go 100 Anglos and 10 Punjabis and you know that the Anglos can overpower the Punjabis, so they can say that my way of living is right and your's is wrong and get away with it, because the Punjabis would be helpless. [Valleysider student]

This student felt that the relationship between Quaddies and other student groups at Valleyside High could be viewed in similar light.

Most students are not conscious that their line of thinking is tantamount to saying that "Punjabis and all other groups must be like me to be acceptable." Punjabi students, moreover, must conform to majority-group ways even to be considered American. The following discussion between a student officer at Valleyside High and one of the researchers demonstrates the line of reasoning:

> [Researcher] What do you mean by Americanized?
>
> [Student] Following our American customs in bathing habits, eating habits, religion....1/

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1. The Valleysider preoccupation with Punjabi body odor, it seems, casused this student to list "bathing habits" first among American customs.

[Researcher] Do you mean pretty much the majority white culture? I mean there are a lot of groups in this country.

[Student] Yeah, yeah.

[Researcher] Blacks are Americanized, but they don't necessairy eat the same food....

[Student] I guess when I say Americanized, I'm talking mainly of the white people. I know that the blacks, and...the Chicano Americans [are Americans], but I guess I just think of the whites as the Americans and I shouldn't.

This student went on to say that he had not realized that he was thinking "in the back of my head" of "Americanized" as meaning "acting like white people."

Most Valleysiders make little effort to analyze their way of thinking. It simply is the case that, unless Punjabis conform, they are not accepted. "I don't think it is impossible" for them to keep their ways and be accepted, one girl noted, but most people are "afraid" to accept them "unless they make the changes." This girl, who herself had a great deal of empathy for the Punjabis' position, observed that Punjabis must live by Valleysider standards, or they will be "cut down" because of their Punjabi standards.

Some Valleysider students also expressed the feeling that "Americanized" students are those who are "able to associate well with people." Students apparently mean that immigrants must know the customs of the country before they seem like natives. If, however, Valleysiders applied the standard, "associate well with others," to fellow Valleysider classmates, one wonders how many might have to be judged un-American.

Only a handful of Valleysider students felt that Punjabis should decide for themselves whether or not to change their way of life. "That's what is so great about America; it represents all these different cultures," one girl observed. Another noted, "I think they should get involved as much as they want. They shouldn't let the white kids control them. It's their school, too." Many Valleysiders, however, have the attitude that Punjabis are somehow imposing Indian ways on America by not conforming to the ways of the majority. Quite the reverse is actually true. It is the dominant Valleysider student group that is imposing its ways on the Punjabi minority. The same pattern holds true at the community level and, we feel, is reflected in the views of many Valleysider teachers.

School faculty and staff, like students, are not always conscious of their own assumptions about "being American." In assuming their responsibilities to help transmit to each student the culture of this society, some overlook the District's stated philosophy of a culture

"enriched and diversified by its many peoples." One staff member, for example, noted that "when they first started coming here, they wore those little things on their heads, their funny clothes," but, she pointed out, "they are learning." There is little encouragement on campus for Punjabi boys to wear turbans, or for girls to wear their salwar-kameez, except on a special day set aside to recognize Indian culture. No one suggested that Punjabis be encouraged to bring Indian food to school to eat at lunch, but a number of faculty and staff pointed out how many Punjabis take advantage of the free lunch program. Punjabi students eat American food at school because they do not wish to be annoyed by Valleysiders about their weird and bad smelling food. Quite a few faculty members themselves enjoy Punjabi cooking, but none suggested that Indian dishes be incorporated into the food served in the cafeteria, even though it is nutritious and inexpensive. Although a few teachers do discuss Punjabi history and culture in their classes, most admit that they themselves are not very knowledgeable.

Some teachers state quite directly that they "expect Punjabi students to be Americanized" and tell this to Punjabi parents. One teacher explained that it would be wrong to use a "dual standard," referring to the need for Punjabi students to fit into the school's expectations for them in physical education classes. This teacher noted that "a great portion of Punjabis want to change; that's why they're here." He also said he told parents "to go elsewhere, back to India, if they don't like these things," meaning coed gym, required dancing, undressing in public, and wearing shorts. Most teachers are not so adamant about the need for Punjabi students to change their ways, but most feel that conformity to the standards of the dominant group is desirable and inevitable. It will take time, they say, for the "melting pot" to work, but in three generations it is assumed that most Punjabis will "join the mainstream."

G. Punjabi Adaptation Patterns

Punjabi youth are attracted to many aspects of mainstream American culture. Like their counterparts throughout this nation, and indeed most other nations of the world, they enjoy the latest rock music, prefer jeans to other styles of slacks, and, if wealthy enough, wear Vuarnet sunglasses and drive a Trans Am. For their Asian Club outing these students choose Marriott's Great America amusement park, and, once there, those with strong stomachs join other American youngsters in riding the "Tidal Wave." Punjabi teenagers love french fries and ice cream and they watch the Super Bowl on TV. Those who have been born and raised in the United States prefer English to Punjabi.

Seventy-eight percent of Punjabi high school students born in the U.S. (N=27) use English as their first language at home, even though only 33 percent learned English as their first language. This shift has occurred even though most of their parents continue themselves to

speak Punjabi at home and many of them know only a modicum of English. Second generation Punjabi youngsters appear to be shifting from the use of their mother tongue to English at a remarkably fast pace, faster than their Mexican American peers at Valleyside High. Out of 137 California-born Mexican Americans responding to the same "home language survey," only 66 percent said they spoke English at home, although 41 percent had learned English as their first language.

Like many Americans, Punjabi families have purchased video units enabling them to tape TV programs and to watch movies at home. Unlike most other Americans, they enjoy movies made in India, as well as those made in America. Punjabi students are pleased to be growing up in America. They are proud to be Americans. They are proud, too, to be Punjabis and they resent the pressure to conform to all aspects of the dominant culture.

In sharp contrast to the Valleysiders, only 34 percent of Punjabi students feel that "Punjabis should change their way of life once they are living in America." They resent others telling them that they must change, and that they must conform to a Valleysider life style. All do change, however. Culture is a very powerful entity; the positive power of mainstream American culture, entirely separate from the negativity of nativist prejudice, is overwhelming. Valleysiders need have no fear of Punjabi immigrants, especially those raised in the U.S., adopting many aspects of the mainstream culture.

One Punjabi college student observed that girls refuse to wear "suits" in school not only "because they are going to be teased," but also becuase "the child wants to mix with the other children and be like them." She also pointed out that most parents oppose the changes. To Punjabi parents "Americanization" means adopting those aspects of the mainstream life style which most disquiet them. Earlier we noted the many positive attractions of America to Punjabi parents--the opportunities to work and to save, the modern conveniences, the fairness of American institutions, the laws which safeguard the rights of the individual, and the chance for their children to be well educated. Punjabi parents will, and do, adapt to their new surroundings. They are in no rush, however, to abandon aspects of their way of life which have served Punjabis well for generations and which continue to be functional in the Valleyside setting.

Punjabi parents worry about their children's attraction to mainstream culture, represented very strongly in the values of many Valleysider students. Punjabi youngsters are thus pulled between the wishes of their parents and the values of the school culture. Left to their own devices most Punjabi youngsters will try to follow the standards of traditional Punjabi culture at home and the slangy, popular youth culture of most American teenagers at school. The ability to balance the two is not always easy.

Boys shed their turbans and cut their hair. Girls, too, wish to cut their hair, which Punjabi parents find extremely upsetting. The differing views of parents and children are represented in the following comments.

> [Punjabi father] I told her that with long hair you look as you are East Indian. If you cut your hair, you look like somebody else....Like our parents, they like to keep their children under their control until they are married.

> [Punjabi daughter] And sometimes they overdo it....I respect my religion, but I see nothing wrong with cutting your hair, wearing dresses, doing what you want, and not what other people want you [to do].

Parents want their children to uphold the teachings of their gurus and to look like respectable Punjabis. Girls, in addition to cutting their hair and wearing dresses, also wish to wear jewelry and makeup, appropriate for a married woman in traditional culture, but distinctly inappropriate for an unmarried girl. It suggests that she is trying to attract the attention of the opposite sex. The same is true for clothes. Girls should dress discreetly. In the atmosphere of Valleyside High, however, girls cannot possibly please both peers and parents. To resolve the conflicting pressures some will leave home with hair in braids and while on their way to school don jewelry and makeup and let their hair fall loose.

Students also feel the pressure to engage in the kinds of social activities enjoyed by Valleysider peers. Many of their parents, however, worry about the possible negative impact of contact with Valleysider youth, or the emulation of their ways. Most Punjabi parents, one student observed, "think that once you start mingling with the whites, you start losing your culture." Indeed, some Punjabi parents say:

> When our children get together with the white children, they start doing things which affect our family honor. That is the reason we don't allow them to take part.

As an example of the negative influence, one parent pointed out that "if their children are smoking cigarettes, they press other children to smoke too." This parent, and others, also noted concern about peer pressure to drink and use drugs.

Girls' Perspectives

Due to their parents' restrictions, some Punjabi students feel the only way to arrange time with friends is to take time off from school. Some girls feel the temptation even more strongly than boys, since boys have more opportunities to enjoy social activities with

friends apart from school. "It's just hopeless; that's how I see it," one girl commented. She felt, more accutely than some others, an almost unbearable sense of restriction.

> We can't even go out for breakfast. We have to eat at home. Can't go out for lunch...; can't go anywhere for dinner. No! We have to stay home....Then we watch television! That influences us. They should shut off the television.

This student complained that she was not permitted even to go shopping and that during spring vacation she had to sit at home and "do nothing." Her solution was to do things behind her parents' back, which "is too bad," she said, but she saw no other alternative. She felt her parents did not trust her. From her perspective she knew she would do nothing "wrong." Her parents worried, however, that her actions would bring loss of respect to the family and jeopardize her marriage arrangements.

Since Punjabi girls are expected to be at home, when not at school or work, they find the school day is their only chance to be with friends. Cutting class may not be the major problem with Punjabis that it is with some Valleysiders, but a trend can be observed. Some Punjabi youngsters, like Valleysiders, wish to decide for themselves whether other activities take precendence over class. Like Valleysiders, their decision may not be in their ultimate best interest.

Punjabi girls frequently express a desire to make more decisions on their own with respect to social activities, involvement in team sports, plans for higher education, and choice of a marriage partner. Some feel put upon from every direction. Punjabi boys tease them and then their parents say it is their own fault; they must have led the boy on. They resent what they feel is a double standard, with boys being permitted to do things which they cannot. They do not understand why their parents are so protective of them, more protective some feel than was the case back in village India. Many girls believe they can shoulder more responsibiity for themselves.

Punjabi girls are very upset, furthermore, by all the Valleysider harassment. Girls are more sensitive to the hostilities than boys. A Punjabi boy can fight back without jeopardizing family respect; girls cannot. They should not even look their tormentors in the eye, if male, much less tell them to "Buzz off," or cuss them right back. School officials, they feel, do not understand their plight and, like their parents, simply tell them to avoid trouble. Even other Punjabi girls pick on them if they appear to deviate too far from traditional values, or if they socialize with Valleysiders.

Mixing in Both Groups

Almost no Punjabi students feel it is possible to mix with both Punjabis and Valleysiders while in high school. There are too many pressures forcing Punjabi students to identify with one group, or the other. New arrivals, for example, complain that "our people have become whites" when second generation students and longer-term immigrants do not help them enough with their problems. Even students raised in America criticize Punjabi classmates for associating too much with Valleysiders, saying "He's Anglo, or he thinks he's white; he's not one of us." Those who make such remarks, one boy explained, want to fit in, but are not able to, and put down those who are accepted socially by Valleysiders.

Those who manage to maintain friendships in both groups are good students academically and appear to have both a positive self image and a strong sense of their Punjabi identity. One boy, who seemed among the more successful socially, noted that "I do mix with whites a lot. I haven't lost my culture. I learned some of their ways. I can talk to them and we get along." Being "Americanized" to him meant disliking your own culture. This young man, althrough raised in America, had visited India several times for extended periods and spoke knowledgeably about the history and culture of both countries.

Some Punjabi parents note that it is possible to be too restrictive, too protective:

> It is not good to be too strict on the children. They feel that they are in a prison, that I cannot do anything. This does not always go right. The child makes up his own mind.

This parent believed that "you should control the child as much as he can cope with it, not more." Some parents also recognize that their children, through working after school, are gaining a degree of financial independence that would never have been possible in India. As a result, children may wish to exert some control over their money and feel, for example, that since they can afford to pay for their clothes, they should be permitted the right to choose the styles they wish to wear.

Some parents also recognize that their children feel better educated than their parents and believe they are able to make intelligent decisions. As a result, children may cease to listen to their parents.

> I think that the children do not even want to listen. The families that come from India are uneducated and, when the child begins to know a little 'tid bit,' he begins to say, "What do you know that you are advising me to do this? I have been studying

with these [Valleysider] children and I have more knowledge than you do regarding these things."

Although parents may take pride in their children's education, they worry about their future. They fear that Punjabi youngsters may fit into neither world—Punjabi or Valleysider. From the parents' perspective, their children try to be like Valleysiders and cannot. They then try to go back to their Punjabi culture, but they no longer fit in, so "they just hang in the middle." Parents realize that their offspring tend to acquire the "attitudes and behaviors of the white children whom they are with all day," but it nonetheless makes them "unhappy." As one man described the situation, parents feel their children are "going backwards, becoming inferior." The result is that children are "being pulled in both directions, being stretched" and, in his estimation, "hanging in between."

The acquisition of competence in a new cultural system need not involve rejection of the old culture (McFee 1968; Polgar 1960). Even "concurrent socialization" in two or more systems is possible (Polgar 1960). Students can maintain their Punjabi identity, and way of life, while at the same time participating in the culture of mainstream America. The ability to do so, however, is enhanced by an understanding of the similarities and differences between the systems. Where the values of the two are in conflict, a person must choose to be guided by one set or the other. Problems can arise when people try to be guided by both.

Some Punjabi students, for example, feel that their parents should permit them to date and be involved socially with the opposite sex. They say they intend to allow their own children to date, but at the same time they intend to arrange their children's marriages. It is possible for one who has dated to be comfortable with an arranged marriage, although a major function of dating is to give young people the experience to make decisions for themselves with respect to a marriage partner. Punjabi youngsters will profit by comparing the two systems, the differences between them, and the strengths of both.

Independence Orientation

Many aspects of mainstream American culture look appealing to Punjabi young people. Those who feel most restricted by Punjabi culture are those who express the greatest desire to be "on their own." To more fully understand the attitutes of Punjabi and Valleysider youth with respect to the role of the individual versus the group, we asked students a set of forced choice questions. The results are revealing, not only for the differences they point to between the two groups, but also for the intra-group variation. Table 23 summarizes student responses.

Table 24. Independence Orientation, by Ethnic Group and Sex.

Forced choice questions (students were asked to select the response that best represented their ideas).

On-Your-Own Orientation

1. It is important to do what you think is best, even if others disagree.
2. It is important for young people to go off on their own when they finish their education.
3. Young people should learn to be independent and not rely on their parents or relatives to support them.
4. When you are making decisions about your future, you're the one who knows what's best for you.
5. When I am old I hope to live on my own.
6. When people grow old it is better if they can support and care for themselves.

Family Orientation

1. It is better to listen to those who are older than you, and to do as they suggest, even if you think your way is better.
2. It is important for young people to stay nearby their families.
3. Young people should be able to count on their parents or relatives to help them out as long as necessary.
4. When you are making decisions about your future, it is better to follow the advice of your parents, since they are older and wiser.
5. When I am old I hope to live with my children.
6. When people grow old they should be able to count on their children to help support and care for them.

On-Your-Own Responses (Range 0 - 6)	Punjabis living in the U.S. 1-6 years		*Punjabis living in the U.S. 8+ years		Valleysiders	
	Median	(N)	Median	(N)	Median	(N)
Male	1	(10)	3	(4)	4	(23)
Female	2	(9)	4	(12)	5	(19)

*Includes two students from Fiji who entered U.S. schools in 6th and 8th grades.

Valleysider responses, as might be expected, demonstrate a strong "on-your-own orientation." Students say it is important to do what they think best, even if others, including their parents, disagree. Valleysider students plan to live on their own and hope not to have to rely on their parents for financial assistance. Furthermore, when they are old, they hope to continue to live on their own and not have to depend on their children to support or care for them. The Valleysider girls in our sample responded even more strongly than boys with respect to these attitudes. They replied to 5 out of 6 questions with an "on your own" answer (median response), while for boys the median number of "on your own" responses was 4. Interviews with Valleysider girls further express their strong desire to be able to take care of themselves and not to depend on others, especially for financial support.

Punjabi youngsters, newly arrived from India, express a much stronger orientation to reliance on family members. They not only think it best to defer to the advice of elders, they also count on parents and relatives to help them out for as long as necessary. They plan to stay nearby their families, rather than go off on their own as soon as their education is completed. When they grow old, furthermore, they expect to be able to live with their children and will count on them for support and care, as needed. Students who had been in the U.S. less than seven years gave many more "family orientation" than "on your own" responses to the forced choice questions.

Punjabi students who had been born in the United States, or who had arrived by fifth grade, however, presented a much more mixed response pattern. Attitudes among the girls who had been raised and educated in the U.S. were the most striking, because of their sharp contrast to more traditional Punjabi cultural patterns. While our samples were small, the patterns which emerged were clear. Many young Punjabi women feel restricted and wish increased opportunity to make decisions for themselves. Some are having a difficult time reconciling their desire for more independence with family and Punjabi community expectations. While only 20 percent of the newer arrivals--those arriving after fourth grade--felt Punjabis should change their way of life once they are living in America, 50 percent of the girls here since first grade felt Punjabis should change their way of life. Several of these girls also expressed negative attitudes about Punjabi classmates recently arrived from India, attitudes similar to those of Valleysiders. At least a few appeared clearly to be "pulled in both directions," unsure of which direction to pursue.

Some Punjabi parents believe that if children are strongly rooted in their own cultural system first, then nothing negative will happen to them when they mix at school with those whose values differ. It requires a strong positive sense of self, they realize, to be able to mix socially with Valleysiders without feeling the necessity to conform to their standards. The pervasive negative attitudes about Punjabis at Valleyside High and throughout the larger community make

it difficult, however, for Punjabi youngsters to maintain a positive image of self and of their Punjabi roots. It is a tribute to the strength of their heritage that most are able to do so.

H. Summary

Social relations between Punjabi and Valleysider students at the high school level are governed by a climate of prejudice which permeates nearly all aspects of peer interaction. There is almost universal agreement among students, parents, and teachers, both Valleysider and Punjabi, that improvement is necessary. All feel that a more positive social climate would better serve the aims of public education in America. Yet almost no one has a sense of how to change the situation.

School personnel feel that prejudice on campus stems from the racism of the larger society and that it cannot be altered without first changing attitudes at the community level. Punjabis recognize the larger problem, but feel the school district should be accountable for protecting their children from the degrading hostilities of Valleysider youngsters while at school. School officials try to deal with the most serious offenses through a system of discipline, but their efforts are largely ineffective.

We have pointed to several major underlying causes of the present situation and suggested how the social structure of the high school itself contributes to the problems. We have sought, furthermore, to identify areas where change is possible, as well as necessary. The social climate, as it stands, serves as a barrier to equal educational opportunities for Punjabi students and works against district efforts to promote citizenship, social responsibility, and knowledge of this nation's multicultural heritage.

Punjabis have shown themselves to be quite flexible and receptive to changes which serve their interests and tie into their theories of success. They react negatively, however, to pressures placed on their children, and themselves, to conform to Valleysider values and life style. They resent bitterly the underlying assumption of many Valleysiders that the Valleysider way equals the American way and that it is superior to Punjabi ways. The current value system, which dominates school culture, places Punjabi students in an untenable bind, where most feel they must chose between being Punjabi and being American.

As it stands, most Valleysiders equate Americanization with acculturation to a mainstream, middle class, largely white, way of life. School officials, as well as students, therefore, single out those Punjabis who have conformed to the dominant group's patterns of dress and social activities as being "American." Yet these very Punjabi youngsters who are held up by Valleysiders as models of the "successful" Punjabi student are often those whom Punjabis themselves

feel have abandoned their heritage and brought disrespect to their families.

The Punjabis who are able to mix in both worlds are those who feel positive about themselves as students and as Punjabis. To mix, in their minds, need not involve culture loss. Quite the contraray, it is an opportunity to gain exposure to a new way of life and values. They are able to draw upon the strengths of both without succumbing to conformist pressures.

The prevalent Valleysider definition of a successful school experience places greater weight on social criteria than academic. Punjabi students and parents have a different view of success. They are less concerned with participation in social and extracurricular activities than with the acquisition of academic skills. Punjabi parents do not view participation in clubs and sports as an essential part of the educational experience. Where participation is veiwed as beneficial to their children's development, they encourage their offspring to take part. Where participation is viewed as superfluous, or possibly detrimental, they discourage involvement. They feel obliged to go along with school regulations when noncompliance will jeopardize their children's grades or class credits, even if such regulations run counter to deeply held values. They feel no similar need to permit participation in non-mandatory, extracurricular, high school activities. The Valleysider definition of success, however, appears to define Punjabis as non-successful, in spite of their strong academic orientation. It appears also to reinforce the high social status of students in Track B classes and the low status of those in Track A.

It is not only the Punjabi students who sufer within the present system, but those mainstream students also who receive less than equal opportunities in track A, or who feel that they must conform to the standards of some dominant student group. The current climate is likely to continue, however, unless the school district is able to alter the sturcture of the learning environment. Likely, too, are increased tensions between mainstream and minority youngsters, as the Punjabi population grows in size and power and as more American-born Punjabis confront those who would put them down.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION

A. School Success and Cultural Differences

The major policy issue facing public education in America today is why the teaching-learning process works better for some children than for others (Cazden 1982). Particular attention has been focused on the special problems of minority youth whose linguistic and cultural backgrounds differ from that of the white, middle-class mainstream. Researchers have amassed increasing evidence to show how the differences between home and school culture can, and indeed do, lead to performance dysfunction in the classroom. Cultural differences in and of themselves, however, do not create lasting barriers to educational achievement. To understand the relationship between students' cultural backgrounds and school performance, it is necessary to examine not only the types of cultural differences that contribute to learning problems, but the setting and circumstances related to these problems.

Much of the research on minority youth in America has focused, understandably, on those groups whose educational performance is poorest compared to the population as a whole, for example, Americans of African, Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Hawaiian-Polynesian ancestory, as well as various groups of American Indians. The educational problems of these groups, all of whom have experienced lower rates of success in school than the population as a whole, relate not only to differences in cultural background, but also to their long-term subordinate position within the social structure of this country (Ogbu 1978). These non-immigrant minorities have experienced for many generations a job ceiling which prevents them from competing equally, on the basis of education and training, for the most desirable jobs in

this society, a reality which may contribute to their poor performance in school (Ogbu 1982b).

Much less attention has been given to the educational experiences of immigrant minorities, whose cultural backgrounds may also differ markedly from that of the American mainstream, but whose place within the larger society differs from that of non-immigrant groups. It is necessary, as Ogbu points out, to distinguish between various types of minority groups when considering the impact of cultural differences on school success. Immigrant minorities, like non-immigrants, do encounter difficulties in school related to their cultural and language backgrounds, but their problems are sometimes found to be more temporary in nature than those of non-immigrant minority youth (Ogbu 1983).

As the present case shows, immigrant minorities may do well in school, as well as, or even better than, the mainstream majority, and considerably better than many non-immigrant minorities. This can be the case even when the cultural background of an immigrant minority contrasts more sharply with that of the mainstream than the backgrounds of non-immigrant minorities. Thus it is, for example, with the Punjabis of Valleyside. As a group they take as many college preparatory courses in high school as their Mexican American classmates, even though only 30 percent of the Punjabis, compared to 72 percent of the Mexican Americans, began their schooling in the United States. Punjabi males educated from first grade in the U.S. take more advanced courses in math and science than their mainstream counterparts.

School success is often correlated with parents' occupation, income, and educational background, yet Punjabi students do comparatively well in school even though only 42 percent of their fathers and 11 percent of their mothers have completed high school. Most of the Punjabis living in Valleyside, furthermore, are recent immigrants, having arrived in the United States since 1965. Most work, at least initially, for minimum or near minimum wages as farm laborers, speak little English, and occupy a subordinate position within the Valleyside social structure. Most also adhere to a cultural tradition which is neither understood nor respected by the larger society. In spite of low wages, back-breaking work, and the prejudice of the larger society, a significant number of the Valleyside Punjabis have been able, in time, to buy their own farms and to become economically successful.

These findings contradict the assumption that "the less similar a group to the middle-class exemplars of the larger society, the more its members will suffer both economically and socially" (Rubel and Kupferer, 1973:67). The study also provides some evidence to counter the assumption that students are likely to do well in school when their cultural backgrounds are similar to that represented by school culture. While congruence between home and school culture certainly

does facilitate the learning process in many important ways, it clearly is no guarantee of high academic achievement, as the Valley-sider findings reveal.

We have suggested that the mainstream conception of "self-reliance," which pushes youth to be on their own to a large extent even during their teenage years, may erode school authority and contribute to mediocre performance patterns. The Punjabi conception of "self-reliance," by emphasizing the individual's place within the family group and the maintenance of adult authority, contributes to successful school performance. The mainstream conception of self-reliance, of course, involves no necessary destruction of school authority. At its best mainstream "self-reliance" sponsors independence in thought and intellectual creativity; at its worst Punjabi "self-reliance" inhibits such things. The most significant causes of the general decline in secondary school achievement in this country, even among the brightest students, may be altogether different factors, like attention by employers to credentials more than to educational accomplishment (Collins 1979), and the general lack of public commitment to educational excellence (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983). The present study demonstrates clearly that parents' guidance and support of their children is of critical importance to their success in school whatever the cultural background of the student. Such may be of greater significance to minority group students who enounter language problems, prejudice, and other structural and cultural barriers to their success, but it is of great significance to mainstream students as well.

Oddly, some Punjabi values which contribute most to success in school, such as their emphasis on group decision making, family interests ahead of personal wishes, and strong parental supervision for adolescents, are the very qualities most misunderstood and disturbing to mainstream Americans. Punjabi values, although more functional in some respects than those of the dominant, white, middle-class majority, are characterized by the majority as "anachronistic" and "un-American." In the name of acting American great pressure is placed on Punjabi young people, both by the larger society and by the schools, to assimilate to the way of life of mainstream classmates.

B. Asian American Success: Myth or Reality?

In a review article on "The myth of Asian American success and its educational ramifications," Chun (1980) questions the evidence underlying the widespread view of Asian Americans as a "model minority," better educated, more economically successful, better assimilated, and with lower rates of social deviance than other minority groups in America. Chun quite rightly examines the social and political context of success, pointing out that other analysts have cited the high income of Asian American families without proper consideration of such critical factors as hours worked and number of

wage earners in the family, or the real cost of economic success in terms of psychological stress. The pressures of prejudice and discrimination, he notes, moreover, have led many Asian Americans to reject their traditional culture in favor of the dominant one. The present study lends support to his analysis. We cannot agree, however, with Chun's conclusion that Asian American success is really a "myth" and that "the image...of success dissolves helplessly" when examined in its proper context.

Chun, like other researchers who have studied the educational and economic achievements of Asian Americans, rejects the "successful minority" thesis for a number of reasons. It encourages neglect of the very real needs of many Asian Americans, by creating the image that all are successful, or at least able to care for themselves, when in fact many live at the poverty level. Statistics used to indicate Asian American economic success, furthermore, suggest that discrimination is no longer an issue, when, it continues to be a major barrier to success in school and in the economic sphere. Asian Americans continue to receive lower salaries than whites at every educational level. The "model minority" label is also rejected because it implies that if other minority groups would only emulate the success strategies of Asian Americans they, too, could become successful (Suzuki 1983). These, plainly, are serious concerns.

Nonetheless, Asian American students are, by and large, successful in school, more successful than most other groups. Nearly 40 percent of all Asian American students in California graduate in the top 12.5 percent of their class, "compared with 16.5 percent of the white graduates, 5 percent of the blacks and 4.7 percent of graduates of Spanish origin," a recent study showed (Turner 1981). Asian American students, furthermore, are today completing four years of college in higher numbers than the population at large, (Chan and Tsang, 1983; Kim 1983; Yoshiwara 1983).

This case study provides further evidence of the success of Asian immigrants. Punjabis of Valleyside provide a quite remarkable picture of success, the more so considering the context of their educational and economic achievement. The issue is not success versus non-success, but how analysis of Asian immigrants can contribute to our understanding of the cultural, social, and structural factors which faciliate and impede opportunity.

The Government of India permits Punjabis, like all other emigrants from India, to leave the country with only $8.00, a small sum with which to begin a new life in another country. Many Punjabis, furthermore, arrive in the United States in debt, having borrowed from relatives to pay the cost of their moving expenses. Once in Valleyside Punjabi newcomers can count on more help from relatives and in-laws until they are able to stand on their feet. Regardless of their previous occupational background in India, or England, almost all must seek work in the area's fruit orchards, performing hard manual labor

for low wages. Relying on a traditional folk theory of success many Punjabi immigrants, in spite of the hardships, are able as extended family units not only to make ends meet, but to save sizeable sums of money which can be used to purchase a car, a house, and, until the recent inflationary surge drove the price of farm land out of reach, a small peach orchard on which to begin a family business.

Punjabi Jat Sikhs, almost 90 percent of the Punjabis in Valleyside, have farmed for generations in India and feel confident that their knowledge of farming will serve them well also in America, the different setting, crops, and technology notwithstanding. Indeed, over a period of only 15 to 20 years, paralleling their population increase, Punjabis have acquired around 50 percent of the peach acreage in the bi-county area, an area which leads the state and nation in its production of canning peaches.

In school Punjabi students also do remarkably well considering some very major obstacles to their success. The two greatest obstacles are their own lack of English fluency when they begin school, and the deep-seated prejudice of many mainstream youths. Punjabi youngsters rely on strategies in school similar to those pursued by their parents in farming. They rely on hard work, initiative, respect for authority, and a sense that one must make the most of one's opportunities, in spite of all difficulties. Punjabi young people, furthermore, following their parents' teachings, believe that formal education will be the number one key to their employment opportunities in America. Not only do the overwhelming majority of Punjabis persevere in high school until graduation, more than three quarters go directly on to college, mainly the local community college.

Punjabi boys aspire to careers in the fields of electronics, computer science, and engineering, all fields for which there is in America today a massive shortage of well-trained personnel. In keeping with their goals, an impressive 44 percent of Punjabi boys educated in Valleyside take at least three years of high school science and math. Over a third complete a fourth year in these subjects. This contrasts sharply with the present nationwide enrollment in chemistry, only 16 percent, and trigonometry, only 5 percent, of all high school students (Lind 1982). A career in engineering emphasizes technical training over a liberal arts education and provides one avenue for minorities in America to rise to the middle ranks of large organizations (Collins 1979:169-70). While successful in fields like engineering and computer science, which rely heavily on quantitative skills, Asian Americans continue to be underrepresented in manager and administrator categories, and in professions which require interpersonal contacts and acceptance by members of the dominant group (Chun 1980). Their occupational aspirations are shaped by the persistent realities of prejudice and discrimination within American society (Wong 1977).

Punjabi girls have equally high educational aspirations as Punjabi boys, but much less expectation that they will be able to achieve them. Even though close to 90 percent of the girls raised in Valleyside aspire to a four-year college degree and half to a graduate degree, few take a full four years of college preparatory courses in high school. Only 14 percent, for example, take a third year of science or math, and fewer still a fourth year. Over half do take three years of high school English, but only 9 percent complete four years, compared with 30 percent of the Valleyside-educated Punjabi boys. Punjabi girls feel constrained by a traditional set of values characteristic of village Punjab which places much less emphasis on education for women than men. Some Punjabi parents even view higher education for women in negative terms, noting that too much education can cause a woman to become too independent in her life style and decision making, which in turn can create difficulties in arranging a good marriage; the husband's family may worry about such an educated woman fitting in. Those Punjabi parents who do support the value of higher education for women usually will insist that their daughter defer education beyond high school or community college until after marriage, when the decision of her attendance can be made jointly by the young woman, her husband, and her husband's family.

These patterns are changing, however, as Valleyside Punjabis come to recognize the necessity for their daughters to have specialized training beyond high school, if they are to be competive in the job market. Most young, unmarried Punjabi women in Valleyside are now permitted by their parents to attend the local community college. As more of these young women find jobs which require the technical training they have received at Valleyside Community College, and as others, married or unmarried, complete college and graduate degrees, they will become models for those following in their footsteps. With more role models to emulate, and with encouragement from school officials, it is possible to anticipate that increasing numbers of Punjabi girls will apply themselves to four years of academic study in high school.

C. Learning English as a Second Language

Although Punjabis do share a cultural tradition distinctive in many respects from that of the American mainstream and although differences in values and learning styles do create obstacles for Punjabi youngsters in the classroom, the problems caused by differences between home and school culture are largely temporary. Most students, in time, learn to juggle the different expectations and demands of home and school, providing they become fluent enough in English to compete in high-school level academic classes and to stand up for their rights in the face of mainstream prejudice and overt hostility.

Punjabis have a positive attitude about receiving all their education in English, even though most Punjabi children begin school

in Valleyside as monolingual Punjabi speakers. From the Punjabi perspective the more languages one knows the better. To be successful in America one certainly must know English. Few Punjabi parents themselves learn English after arriving in the United States as they have little time to study and little contact with English speakers. Their lack of English, however, handicaps them in competing for non-agricultural jobs. They want better opportunities for their children, opportunities which they believe a good education, fluency in English, and credentials from American schools will provide.

It quite likely is the Punjabis' very positive attitude toward English and toward schooling which enables many Punjabi children to learn English in spite of the obstacles. Research on language acquisition (C. Paulston 1974, 1975) indicates that the single most critical variable in second language learning is the social status of the learners. Students who are stigmatized by virtue of their language, cultural background, or class status have a great deal more difficulty in learning a new language than students who occupy a high social status and thus experience no sense of inferiority related to their mother tongue or cultural background. The high self-esteem which Punjabi parents pass on to their offspring appears to be a key factor in their children's ability to learn English and to do well in school. This is so in spite of the prevailing negative attitudes of the larger society toward the Punjabi language and culture and in spite of the Punjabis subordinated position within Valleyside.

D. Structural Barriers to Educational Achievement

The considerable accomplishments of many Punjabi youngsters must in no way deflect attention from the existence of some very real barriers to their success in school, including their mastery of the English language. The greatest barriers arise out of the majority group's response to Punjabis and Punjabi culture and the structure of the instructional program itself.

Although Punjabis themselves are highly motivated to learn English and to learn it well, not all do, even when they begin kindergarten or first grade in Valleyside schools. Nearly one quarter of the American-educated Punjabis are still limited in English when they reach high school. Nor do most of these students know their mother tongue well. Few, in fact, can read or write Punjabi at all, and their oral Punjabi does not equal that of peers raised in India. These youngsters, seemingly, are what linguists describe as "semi-lingual." This state of knowing neither mother tongue nor second language well, researchers have found, occurs when minority youngsters are forced to accept instruction in the langauge of the dominant group and their own langauge is given low prestige in both school and society (Skutnabb-Kangas 1979). While most Punjabi youngsters do not view instruction in English as a threat to their identity, some may do so because of the negative attitudes of the dominant English-speaking

group toward them, and this in turn may contribute to their difficulty with English-only instruction. These youngsters, comparative research suggests, would fare better in bilingual, Punjabi-English, classes which place value on the development and use of their mother tongue (Skutnabb-Kangas 1979).

The number of Punjabi youngsters whose knowledge of English continues to be weak in high school increases to one third for those entering U.S. schools from India in third or fourth grade and leaps alarmingly to near 90 percent for those who arrive in fifth grade or later. Social factors undoubtedly are a major drawback to their learning English, but equally important is the quality of the instructional program. This study, focusing as it has on the high school level, includes no analysis of instruction in the elementary and junior high years. A history of the development of the school district's English-as-a-second-language and bilingual education programs reveals that the students in the present high school study received almost no specialized assistance in learning English and no instruction in Punjabi while in the process of learning English. Their failure to learn English, when compared to the success of other Punjabi youngsters whose introduction to reading and writing English began in first grade, reveals an unquestionable need for special instructional activities designed to teach them English. A case may also be made, clearly, for parallel instruction in their native language so that their academic development does not lag while learning to read, write, and speak English. In recent years the district has introduced both ESL and bilingual instruction in the elementary grades. The impact of these programs needs to be closely monitored.

Unintended Effects of ESL Instruction

As our analysis of ESL activities at the high school reveals, the existence of an ESL program, even one which offers students up to five periods a day of English language instruction, is no guarantee for the successful integration of non-English-speaking immigrants into the academic or social mainstream of campus life. English-as-a-second-language instruction is clearly needed at the high school level, both for new arrivals who know little or no English and for those students who have failed to learn English well in the lower grades. A seperate ESL track, such as that operating at Valleyside High, designed to aid students in making the transition to full instruction in English, can have some quite unintended and negative effects, however. As we have shown through our analysis, these effects relate both to the structure of the program and to the social segregation which it produces.

By holding ESL students together as a group for a full year at a time, the most able students are kept to the pace of less able and less industrious classmates. Students, furthermore, can meet graduation requirements in math, science, and English through their ESL

courses, even though the instructional level and content of these courses is, at best, equivalent only to that of the upper elementary grades. The good marks which students receive for these "high school" classes further creates a sense among some of the students, and their families, that their achievement equals that of classmates enrolled in the regular high school program. From high school these students go on to community college and, once again, are placed in remedial courses due to their inadequate preparation for college work. Quite possibly, with perseverence, these students will receive an AA degree, just as they have their high school diploma, but they will not be competive in their search for jobs.

In the course of our analysis we have noted need for change in almost every area of the ESL program, from placement, testing, and counseling, to instructional techniques, materials, and the overall design of the curriculum. There are, clearly, no simply remedies or quick solutions to the problems of integrating non-English speakers into the high school program. Students need intensive instruction in English and, at the same time, need to spend time mixing with fluent English speakers. If students newly arrived in this country are to finish high school in the same number of semesters as their American born and educated age-mates, while also learning English, it is not reasonable to assume that they will be able to compete academically, unless they are exceptionally able and were also very well prepared in their foreign schools. If newcomers were permitted to take longer than four years to complete high school, however, or if they were first taught English and then placed into the academic program in accordance with their prior preparation in other countries, they might be better served than through the present system which makes sure that they are able to receive a diploma in the same period of time as classmates who have had 12 years of all-English schooling. If the credential is all important and the quality of their academic preparation irrelevant to their future opportunities, then perhaps such a system is defensible. But following high school, or community college, these students will not be competitive in their search for jobs. The educational system thus contributes to the perpetuation of the subordinate status of minority students whose first languge is other than English, when its stated purpose, that of providing equality opportunity to all, is quite the reverse.

The system at it stands is also costly. Students remain for years on end in ESL classes, which require a low teacher-student ratio and, frequently, the assistance of other instructional personnel. The system is costly as well in terms of psychological stress to those who feel they cannot escape their second-class status and, all the while, must endure the prejudice of mainstream youngsters and their families. The mainstream resents the newcomers all the more for remaining seperated and for receiving special instruction. We shall return to the problems and consequences of prejudice later in the discussion.

The Perpetuation of Inequality

Schools, as Bowles and Gintis (1976:102) point out, tend to "reproduce inequality rather than correct it." At Valleyside High the regular academic program, quite as much as the ESL program, serves to perpetuate the existing social order. Those who remain in high track, level B classes throughout all four years of high school, around 12 percent of the graduating class, are the school's social elite, the class leaders, the students headed for college. These students learn to work on their own, defend their ideas verbally in front of peers, and to take responsibility for homework. They learn, too, that if they apply themselves successfully to their work they can move up each year to more challenging courses. Those who excell in track B will, predictably, also do well in college and, after that, possibly graduate school. Although the relationship between skills learned in school and those actually needed on the job may be open to question, there is little doubt that educational credentials, especially those from the elite schools, provide job mobility and increased earnings (Collins 1979; H. Miller 1971). Like other schools throughout the nation, Valleyside High grooms a small group of students to compete for the most prestigious positions.

Like other high schools, also, minority students in general, and mainstream students whose parents are less affluent and less well educated, are underrepresented in the high track, college preparatory classes at Valleyside High. This pattern can be expected to continue through college and into the job market. In such a fashion the educational system helps to perpetuate the social order. Some minority students, and some mainstream students from the lower side of the socioeconomic scale do go on from Valleyside High to college and graduate school, but even with their degrees in hand they may not have equal opportunity to compete for high-paying jobs. Education provides a monetary return for all groups, in terms of lifetime income, but the returns are far greater for the "whites" than "nonwhites" (Miller 1971:179-94). The differences result both from discrimination in employment and from the poorer quality of education which minority youngsters sometimes receive. A high school diploma, as the present case indicates, does not represent the same level of educational achievement for all students.

Bowles and Gintis (1976:102) note that schools are relatively powerless to change these realities since the conditions which create and perpetuate economic inequality in this country are "set" within the larger society. This undoubetedly is true. But the inequalities of the larger society should provide no excuse to school officials to maintain the status quo within their own instructional program when alternate structures and learning environments can increase educational opportunities for their students.

While the B level classes at Valleyside High emphasize analytic skills, the A level or lower track classes emphasize rote learning and drill. Students in the low track classes are also given less opportunity to work on their own and less responsibility for their own learning. These students, quite likely, will assume jobs where these skills are little emphasized or rewarded. Many A track high school students still need to work on basic skills, as a result of some deficiency in their prior preparation or even their ability. The difficulty with the tracking system, however, is that, as in ESL, students who wish to apply themselves and to make up for previous deficiencies are held to the slower pace and lowered objectives. Even a lack of texts becomes a barrier to learning. Students willing to care for books are denied their own copies because others abuse them. Although theoretically possible to move up from track A to track B, it rarely happens.

Track A students at Valleyside High are often assumed to be unmotivated, unwilling to do homework, not college bound, uninterested in college preparatory courses, and perhaps even discipline problems, prejudiced, and from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. Although undoubtedly accurate in some cases, such descriptions quite unintentionally can become self-fulfilling prophecies. These characterizations, furthermore, are certainly not descriptive of most Punjabi students. Placed into track A classes, however, Punjabi students may succumb to a peer pressure which opposes taking school seriously.

Teachers, moreover, may unconsciously lower their expectations for track A students. At Valleyside High we found, for example, that some teachers refrained from demanding more of the students who were willing to work hard because this would create, as they put it, a "double standard." Since some students are passed along simply for attending class, teachers feel it is unfair to require more from others. The same logic, it seems, applies to cheating. Since teachers know that cheating is a fairly widespread problem, it is unfair, some say, to come down hard on those who are caught. In the name of fairness, students receive their diplomas for what their teachers know to be a mediocre education.

This reality is further rationalized by educators suggesting that high school graduation is a "puberty rite" and that social criteria for success are more important than academic ones. Academic reasons for school attendance are largely extraneous to the mass of students for whom credentials, not learning, are the major goal. "What is learned in school," Collins (1979:19) observes, "has much more to do with conventional standards of sociability and propriety than with instrumental and cognitive skills." Many minority youngsters, however, such as the Punjabi immigrants of the present study, feel their chances for upward mobility are closely related to their academic skills.

These are all reasons also that the ESL track at Valleyside High, by permitting students to fulfill graduation requirements through ESL classes, together with a minimum nubmer of track A classes, tends to keep Punjabi and other language minority students in a non-competitive state. The structure of the curriculum actually encourages ESL students to graduate from high school before they ever have the requisite skills in English to compete in B track, college preparatory classes. The current educational structure, in trying to accomodate students of varying ability levels and educational orientations, penalizes ESL and track A students who wish to apply themselves fully to their studies.

New structures are needed which will encourage positive behavior and reward students who do wish to learn. The so-called "fundamental school" concept is one alternative which has gained some recent popularity. Certain schools or classes are reserved for students who, together with their parents, commit themselves to a basic set of principles including respect for peers and teachers, consistent attendance, and application to both class work and home work. The absence of such a learning environment in many public schools contributes to the flight of students to private schools where they can be disciplined, or removed, if they do not make a reasonable effort to abide by the rules.

Whatever the structure, parents and students need to understand how it works, why students are placed as they are, and what they must do to gain entry to the college preparatory track, if this is their goal. Since the tracking system actually begins at the elementary level, parents need to follow closely their children's educational progress and to work with the schools to help overcome any learning problems which may later prevent their youngsters from being competitive in high school. Both students, and their parents, need to understand, furthermore, that education requires effort, more effort than most students in America today are putting into their studies.

E. Social Barriers to Equal Opportunity

To be successful in their search for jobs, Punjabi students will need more than just academic skills. They must be familiar with the cultural standards of the mainstream and have the social skills to mix easily and successfully with members of the majority group. While most mainstream Americans, Valleysiders included, believe that they make employment decisions in an objective and unbiased fashion, their assumptions about cultural differences undoubetedly influence their decisions, albeit in uncounscious ways. Even if the minority applicants have the necessary training and are skilled in mainstream culture, they may still be passed over for jobs. The issue is not simply one of competence, but who has the power to judge that competence (Hill-Burnett 1976). Minority youngsters, nevertheless, will have greater opportunity to compete for employment based on their academic and vocational preparation if they are also competent in the

ways of the mainstream. One of the major drawbacks of the ESL track at Valleyside High is that it tends to keep limited English speakers socially separated from the mainstream, thus denying them full opportunity to gain skills in the public culture.

Prejudice as a Barrier

Prejudice, as it exists at Valleyside High, may not differ much from what can be found in many American high schools, but the presence of a sizeable body of South Asian immigrants has brought these attitudes to the surface. Valleyside High, while perhaps not so peaceful a social scene as that of many American high schools, even urban schools with generous mixtures of ethnic groups, has not yet become a battle zone. Before it does, the policy issue facing educators is how to defuse the prejudice and improve the climate for teaching and learning.

Most mainstream parents give strong support to the ideals of public education, including the contact which their children will have with students of different social class and cultural backgrounds. It prepares them for the real world, they say. Educators should attend carefully to this ideal, reinforcing it whenever possible, and using it to improve the educational climate. Many Valleysiders, both students and parents, seem quite unconscious of their own prejudicial attitudes toward Punjabis and of the conflict between these attitudes and strongly held ideals. Much prejudice comes from simply cultural ignorance, as, for example, remarks which relate extended families living together under one roof with poverty and filth, or those which question the intelligence of young people who have arranged marriages. There clearly is a need for education about Punjabi culture and for the general development of cross-cultural knowledge and skills.

Many Valleysiders assign to Punjabis the cause of their own problems and suggest that the power to alter the status quo rests also in minority hands. If Punjabis would just change their language, dress, diet, and general way of life, Valleysiders feel, then they would be acceptable. The mainstream, in other words, feels uncomfortable, even threatened, when confronted with a different cultural system, and, almost as a reflex, concludes that the only solution to the problem is to change the minority culture. If Punjabis do not wish to "Americanize," which is to say, to live like the mainstream, then, some Valleysiders insist, they should go back to India. This pattern of thinking rationalizes hostile acts directed toward Punjabis, and serves to legitimaize mainstream assignment to them of a subordinate status.

The process is a standard one in American life. Valleysiders, by equating mainstream culture with American culture and by defining themselves, simply, as "Americans," assume a superior status. They ascribe an ethnic identity to culturally distinctive minority groups and a national identity to themselves, which tends to reinforce their

superordinate status (Royce 1982:3-4). While schools have not created the inequalities among groups, their tacit devaluing of minority groups' cultures perpetuates the status quo (Lewis 1976). In the Valleyside case it clearly contributes to Punjabi harassment.

Punjabis see the process of Americanization quite differently. Most want to learn English and to learn about the mainstream culture. They do adapt and would adapt all the more readily were their own identity not challenged in the process (Philips 1976). From their perspective, which the evidence of this study strongly supports, they are prevented from mixing freely and easily with Valleysiders because Valleysiders make them feel unwelcome and uncomfortable. Prejudice, as Punjabis see it, far from being the result of their voluntary separation, or resistence to acculturation, is a primary cause of their social separation and a major barrier to their acquisition of English. Punjabi young people also find nothing wrong with enjoying the company of other Punjabis at school, among whom, after all, they do feel comfortable. They need the support of Punjabi peers all the more because of the rejection they face by mainstream classmates.

Minority groups, Punjabis included, resent the presumption of their inferiority and the suggestion that they are less American because their cultural traditions differ from that of the mainstream. Nor do they feel that cultural assimilation will lead necessarily to structural assimilation, a belief supported by research evidence (Gordon 1964). Cultural conformity not only is no guarantee of equal access to positions of power and privilege, it can lead to a sense of anomie and loss. Just as the semilingual child speaks no language well, the marginal child may feel at home in neither culture. Punjabis want their children to feel securely rooted in their own traditions. Parents worry about young people who believe that conformity is the price of acceptance. Punjabi immigrants, not only in Valleyside but throughout the world, guide their lives by a theory of success which values both academic achievement and maintenance of cultural and religious identity. Their success, both educationally and economically, is testimony to the viability of their approach.

Self-Esteem, Educational Success, and the Development of Cross-Cultural Skills

Verma and Mallick (1981:60) point out that self-esteem is a "crucial and pivotal concept" in understanding the school success patterns of minority youngsters and argue that schools should implement policies which will reinforce in young people a sense of self-worth through encouraging the acceptance of cultural differences. Their research among immigrant groups in Great Britain indicates that minority youth who lack self-esteem do less well in school than those who feel positive about themselves and their cultural backgrounds. Punjabis in England, interestingly, are singled out as a minority group that does as well or better than their English counterparts

providing they have received all their education in England (Verma and Mallick 1981:58-59). Their findings, in other words, parallel those of the present study.

Punjabi parents want their children to make friends with children from other groups and to learn about the dominant culture. The social climate at Valleyside High, however, far from facilitating the adaptation of immigrants to their new surroundings, erects barriers to positive social relations. Minority youngsters feel pressured to take sides, mixing socially with one group or the other. Valleyside Punjabis internalize the model that defines mainstream youngsters as "Americans" and themselves as culturally different. Some Punjabi students who do mix with Valleysiders reject their own Punjabi background and in the process find themselves cut off from Punjabi friendship networks.

In the course of the present study only a few Punjabi students were identified who were able to mix successfully in both groups, Punjabi and Valleysider. These, by and large, were young people who had a strong sense of their Punjabiness and self-worth and who felt no threat to their identity through mixing with non-Punjabis. These students, described by one Punjabi educator as "the all-American child plus something," demonstrated both the ability to mix across cultural boundaries and to weigh the similarities and differences between the cultural systems. These students had managed to gain competence in a new culture without rejection of the old culture. Other researchers (McFee 1968; Polgar 1960) have noted that minority youngsters need not reject their own culture as they gain competence in the new culture.

Schools, the present study suggests, can best facilitate the goals of equal educational opportunity and positive inter-group relations by actively working to create an instructional environment which promotes cross-cultural skills, a comparative perspective, and tolerance for differences. In so doing they will reduce conformist pressures and increase students' sense of self-esteem.

It is not only minority youngsters who will gain from this. A majority of the Valleysider students noted their own discomfort with the pressures at Valleyside High to conform to the standards of the "high class Quaddies;" quite a few mentioned being made to feel that they were somehow inferior. Even many of those who mixed freely in the "Quad" and were considered "popular people" noted their discomfort with the atmosphere that puts others down for their differences. While most Valleysiders were extremely ignorant about India, Punjab, Sikhism, and the Punjabi way of life, most also said they had Punjabi acquaintances at school. Many said the negative sterotypes did not apply to those who had lived in Valleyside for some years. Some agreed that they unconsciously equated "being American" with being like themselves and their friends; they admitted a need to reevalute their attitudes.

Lack of self-esteem, interestingly, was noted by high school teachers more frequently as a problem for Valleysider youngsters and a barrier to their educational progress than it was for Punjabis. Teachers also associated low self-esteem with overt prejudicial acts by some Valleysiders toward Punjabis. Although most appear to maintain a strong sense of self-worth, Punjabi students certainly suffer when they are emotionally and physically harassed, and when their very right to live in this country is questioned. The defusing of prejudice and conformist pressures would improve the educational climate for all students.

Assimilation vs. Pluralism

Like their children, many Valleysider parents lack basic knowledge about the Punjabis, and at the same time most express openness and interest in learning about them. Almost all, furthermore, feel that America's greatness is rooted in its protection of individual rights, including freedom of religion and the freedom to live as one chooses, so long as one's life style does not infringe on others rights. Valleysider parents, many of whose own roots lie in the great dust bowl of Oaklahoma and Arkansas, list, next to freedom, the opportunity to get ahead through one's own initiative and hard work as the greatest of America's strengths.

Many Valleysiders, at the same time, worry that the rapid influx of Indian immigrants into their community will somehow prove a negative influence. They worry about their tax dollars being siphoned off to support special English language programs and free lunches for these newcomers. While it is quite true that many immigrants, Punjabis included, do need special assistance when they first arrive, given an opportunity to work and to get an education, most will not need these services for long. Valleyside Punjabis, for example, use welfare services at a much lower rate than the population at large. Punjabis, furthermore, pay taxes like everyone else and resent the suggestion that they somehow are not equally entitled to public services such as education, which tax monies provide. Punjabis point out, furthermore, that most of their savings are reinvested in Valleyside. There is little evidence that Punjabi immigrants are having a negative impact on the community. There is much more evidence to the contrary.

Valleysiders worry, too, about job competition and about Punjabis becoming a major economic force in the community. Yet Valleysiders themselves express little interest in orchard farming, the predominant occupation of Valleyside Punjabis. They insist, moreover, that minorities ought to compete equally for jobs and that people should be hired on the basis of objective qualifications, rather than out of consideration for their race or ethnic backgrounds. In fact, many Valleysiders recognize that Punjabis are good workers and respect them for this. What actually appears most troublesome for some Valley-

siders is the very fact that quite a few Punjabis have become relatively successful economically while also maintaining many of their traditional Punjabi ways.

Mainstream Americans, for the most part, believe strongly in the rightness of cultural assimilation. Immigrants, they feel, must leave their "foreign" ways and themselves melt into the mainstream, just as their own parents and grandparents did when they arrived in America from Europe. There is little recognition that America can benefit from the ideas and values which Punjabis can contribute, or that the melting pot, which so many Valleysiders hold dear, in principle at least, calls for all parties, minority and majority alike, to be changed a bit by the presence of each new culture. There is little acceptance of the Punjabis' desire, furthermore, to maintain their culture. The Punjabi commitment to traditional ways leads some Valleysiders to assume, quite erroneously, that Punjabis are unpatriotic and, furthermore, that they are pushing Indian ways on other Americans. Valleysiders, like many majority group members, appear to suffer from an unnecessary fear that the maintenance of ethnic sub-cultures in America will lead to divisiveness and strife. The truth is quite the reverse. Divisiveness and strife arise when minorities find they have less than equal opportunities economically and when they are forced to conform culturally to the ways of the mainstream.

F. Promoting Equal Educational Opportunities

Throughout this study we have examined the impact of cultural, social, and structural variables on educational opportunity. Far greater barriers to educational success, we have suggested, arise out of the structure of school programs and the nature of majority-minority social relations than out of cultural differences proper. Many aspects of Punjabi culture in fact contribute strongly to success in school. Students newly arrived in Valleyside from India naturally must acquire skills in English and must adapt to their new surroundings before they can be competitive in school. Most are eager to do both. Punjabi students are handicapped in their efforts, however, by the high school's tracking system and by a social climate which keeps them constantly on guard, fearful to speak in class or to practice their English with non-Punjabi classmates, and uncomfortable when mixing socially with mainstream students. All Punjabi students, including those born and educated in Valleyside, are affected by the problems of prejudice, at least in a secondary way. Real change in the social climate, and with it in the opportunities for minority youth to compete equally in school programs, requires change in the majority group's view of the minority.

The Punjabi experience is similar to that of many other immigrant groups and similar also in many respects to the experience of non-immigrant minorities. Both suffer from essentially the same types of

structural and social barriers to educational opportunity, although their reactions to them may be quite different given the different conditions which have led to their minority status in America. Reduction of these barriers would increase educational opportunity for immigrant and non-immigrant alike, and, we believe, for majority group students as well, many of whom also suffer rather similarly from the present educational structure and social environment.

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